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SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE AUTHORITIES USED BY PLUTARCH AND APPIANUS

BY

J. C. VOLLGRAFF,

LIT. HUM. DOCT.

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„Es wäre höchst dankenswert, wenn die Philologie hier der Geschichtsforschung in die Hände arbeiten wollte und auch jener kann, wenn ich nicht irre, durch die kritische Behandlung der alten Geschichtsquellen ein bisher unbeachteter Stoff zugeführt werden".

Nissen

(Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Decade des Livius, p. 85).

THE FONS PRIMARIUS OF PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF FABIUS MAXIMUS.

There has always been a considerable difference of opinion among philologers about the authorities, consulted by Plutarch in composing his much admired *Vitae parallelae*. Two points however have gradually been satisfactorily elucidated:

As a rule Plutarch borrows his representation of the principal historical facts from one author (*auctor primarius*); especially in his Lives of illustrious Romans.

When he has the choice between a Greek and a Latin source, he *ceteris paribus* generally prefers the former.

These conclusions are the fruits of most careful investigations, which do honour to our German neighbours. However, considering how carelessly and superficially Plutarch worked, how far from scientific was the aim of his brilliant character-painting and how very slight must have been his knowledge of Latin, acquired when

he had already passed the middle period of life [1]), the results of this patient research, penetrating into the most subtle minutiae, could easily have been foreseen.

In his Life of *Coriolanus* Plutarch follows the Archaeologia of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

The foundation for the Life of *Aemilius Paullus* is Polybius' History. It is only in a few instances (cc. 15, 16, 21) that Plutarch mentions having found a difference between the narrative of Polybius and the statements of P. Cornelius Scipio.

His Life of *P. Valerius Poplicola* he bases from the beginning to the end upon the Annals of Valerius Antias. This has been clearly shown by HERMANN PETER in his well-known work „Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographieen der Römer" (pp. 41—51) [2]). And Plutarch's predilection for Valerius cannot astonish us in this case, as it is very likely that the latter, for the glory of his *gens*, has amply and lovingly dwelt on the *res gestae* of his great ancestor. Moreover in Plutarch's time the ancient Roman authors were more read and admired than ever. Hadrian himself, according to his biographer, preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, Coelius to Sallust.

In many cases however, where the materials are undoubtedly also taken from Roman sources, it is far more difficult to make certain to what author Plutarch is indebted.

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[1]) Compare Plut. Vit. Dem. c. 2.

[2]) See also: Hermann Peter, Historicorum Romanorum Rell. I. p. 318.

It is — to give a striking example — remarkable how discrepant the opinions of the learned are about his sources for the Life of *Cicero*. HEEREN (De fontibus et auctoritate vitarum Plutarchi commentationes quatuor, Göttingen, 1820) and LAGUS (De Plutarcho vitae Ciceronis scriptore, Helsingfors, 1846) pretend that Plutarch himself gathered the materials for this biography from Cicero's writings. An other authority on these questions, the above-mentioned H. Peter (p. 129) thinks it evident that Plutarch in writing Cicero's Life did not even glance at most of his works, but that he simply contented himself with Tiro's books *De vita Ciceronis* and *De jocis*. One thing however is certain, that generally speaking Plutarch's knowledge of Cicero's works must have been very superficial and defective, as appears from his own statements and quotations. Some few short and easily intelligible treatises on philosophical matters as: *De senectute* and *De divinatione* he knew from his own reading, but on the whole we are justified in believing that he has read more about than of Cicero, and that in the composition of Cicero's Life he did not consult Cicero's own works so much as extracts from them. From the absurd story for instance about the fine Cicero wished to impose upon Verres (Vit. Cic. c. 8), it results clearly that the *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* and the *Verrinae* [1]) were unknown to him. In Vit. Cic. c. 30, where we find recorded that Cicero begged Caesar to be

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[1]) Compare Div. c. 5., Act. I. c. 18 f., Act. II. Lib. II. c. 10. and Zumpt, de Legg. repet. p. 41.

allowed to accompany him to Gaul as his legate, Plutarch shows that he is not acquainted with Cicero's *Oratio de provv. conss.* (XVII) and his *Letters to Atticus.* (II, 18 and IX, 2) [1]). It is true that the Life of *Pompey* contains an allusion to a commonly-known Letter of Cicero to Atticus and that „Cicero's Letters" are mentioned c. 42 of that Life. But Dr. BOOT has very justly observed: (ad loc.) „Plutarchus tamen non videtur eas epistolas legisse sed ex aliquo rivulo utramque rem duxisse". As to the *Oratio pro Plancio* it is also more than doubtful whether he knew it from his own reading. Compare Vit. Cic. c. 6 to Cicero's lively and spirited record of what happened to him after his quaestorship in Sicily. (Or. pro. Pl. XXVI, 65 f.)

According to the opinion of many, the materials of several of his biographies have been chiefly borrowed from Livy. With respect to some indeed, there can hardly be any reasonable doubt. In the Life of *Camillus* for instance Plutarch, it is true, borrows many particulars from Dionysius but on the whole he follows Livy, sometimes even literally. In these instances his superficial knowledge of Latin most clearly appears [2]). Compare for instance Vit. Cam. c. 5 with Liv. V. c. 21. Plutarch here imagined the form *prosecuisset* to belong to *prosequi* and translated this word by *κατακολουθεῖν*! Compare also (in the same chapter of Livy) Camillus' prayer to Jupiter with Plutarch's free translation of it.

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[1]) Compare also: Cic. ad Fam. XIV, 3 § 1.

[2]) See Prof. COBET in the Mnemosyne (Nov. Ser. VI p. 148 seq.) and DOBREE's Adv. Crit. p. 379.

Far greater however are the difficulties presented by the Life of FABIUS MAXIMUS. Here too the resemblance between Plutarch and Livy, in the contents as well as in the form, is unmistakeable, not only in some instances but throughout whole chapters. On the other hand we remark between the two authors differences so many and characteristic, that we can hardly agree with Prof. COBET and others [1]), who suppose the one to have followed the other. We should rather feel inclined to think that, independently of each other, both their statements are, sometimes very accurately and sometimes without any care and even with considerable liberties and many alterations, borrowed from one common source. In several cases a clear idea of the facts is only to be realized by combining the two narratives, which seem vague and incomplete when taken separately and, while many of Plutarch's mistakes and inaccuracies can be corrected from Livy, we find on the other hand, that even in historical particulars, which could hardly be of any interest to the *biographer*, Plutarch sometimes agrees more with other writers of authority and approaches nearer to the truth than Livy. It is worth while to call the reader's attention to a few of the cardinal points of difference.

I. In the first place it may not be uninteresting to compare what Livy remarks about Fabius' official title (XXII. c. 31) with Vit. Fab. c. 3. f. and c. 4.

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[1]) Compare Mnemos. Nov. Ser. VI (1878) p. 159, and DU RIEU, de Gente Fabia p. 313.

„Omnium prope annales Fabium *dictatorem* adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt. Coelius etiam *eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem* scribit; sed *et Coelium et ceteros fugit* uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum proconsul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus fuisse dicendi dictatoris: quam moram quia exspectare territa iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum est ut a populo crearetur qui *pro dictatore* esset".

It deserves to be mentioned that Plutarch, who otherwise is rather fond of discussing Roman antiquities — sometimes even where it might be considered entirely superfluous — seems here without any contradiction to adhere to Coelius and the annalists blamed by Livy. The more so, because in the Life of *Marcellus*, (c. 24. f.) which is undoubtedly borrowed from Livy and composed previously to that of Fabius [1]), Plutarch shows himself to be very well aware that in Rome a dictator could only be named by a consul or a tribunus militum consulari potestate.

„Ὁ γὰρ δικτάτωρ, Plutarch says l.l., οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οὐδὲ τῆς βουλῆς αἱρετὸς ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τις ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ, λέγει δικτάτωρα".

If he had consulted Livy while composing this biography, L. XXII. c. 31 [2]) would certainly not have escaped his attention.

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[1]) Compare Vit. Fab. c. 19 in. „Ὁ μὲν γὰρ (Μάρκελλος) ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις εἴρηται" κ. τ. λ.
See also c. 22. f.

[2]) Compare also c. 8. m.

II. Compare Vit. Fab. c. 4 m. with Liv. XXII. c. 10, 3.

Both passages without any doubt contain *verba concepta* [1]). In the passage preceding the consecrating formula of the ver sacrum both writers agree almost entirely. (Compare Vit. Fab. c. 4 m. with Liv. XXII c. 9, 7.). But the characteristic verba concepta of Plutarch are not to be recognized in Livy's formula.

„Προελθὼν δ' ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ηὔξατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονήν, ὅσην Ἰταλίας ὄρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λειμῶνες εἰς ὥραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσι, καταθύσειν ἅπαντα" κ. τ. λ.

„Rogatus in haec verba populus: velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? si respublica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum stet, ut velim, eamque servaverit hisce duellis, datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium: quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt — *quod ver attulerit ex suillo 'ovillo caprino bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit*". etc.

Had Plutarch had Livy at hand, he would naturally have followed the *carmen* he found there with more or less accuracy. However as he gives quite an other carmen, the source, from which he drew, must either

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1) With respect to Plutarch's formula compare HUSCHKE: Das alte Römische Jahr und seine Tage, Breslau 1869, p. 84. „Da es sich um den Viehstand von fast ganz Italien handelte" („*wie viel Italiens Berge und Felder, Flüsse und Gewässer nährten*" Plut. Fab. 4) etc.

have differed from Livy in a similar way, or this source did not contain any formula at all. The former supposition may seem more plausible; the latter would lead us to the conclusion that Plutarch had consulted on the ver sacrum some other writer, as for instance *Varro.*

III. Compare Vit. Fab. c. 7 with Liv. XXII. c. 23.

Plutarch and Livy both relate in the same way, — though the former is more clear and explicit — that during the general devastation of the country Hannibal ordered his soldiers to spare nothing but the possessions of Fabius, in order that the latter might be suspected of entertaining connections with the enemy. At the end of his story Plutarch relates one other circumstance, which by no means gives the impression of being added from his own fancy, but seems really to have belonged to the original tradition.

„Ταῦτα προσδιέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγγελθέντα, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβόων, ἐπάγοντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν· ἀλλ᾽ οἰκεῖος ὢν Μινουκίου τοῦ ἱππάρχου τιμὴν ᾤετο καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ φέρειν τὰς τούτου διαβολάς."

Of all this Livy does not mention a word.

IV. There is a striking resemblance between Vit. Fab. c. 8. m. and Liv. XXII c. 25 in., even in the words and expressions used by both. Here too Plutarch is decidedly not inferior to Livy in clearness of exposition.

»Καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀκούσας ἔφη μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου

φοβεῖσθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἥρτο καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχεν. Καὶ Μετίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστὰς ἐδημηγόρει μεγαλύνων τὸν Μινούκιον, τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου κατηγορῶν οὐ μαλακίαν οὔτ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη προδοσίαν".

„Cum *laeta civitate* dictator unus nihil nec famae nec literis crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, *secunda se magis quam adversa timere* diceret, tum *M. Metellus tribunus plebis:* id enim ferendum esse negat: *non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae sed absentem etiam gestae obstare*".

The more striking therefore is the great difference between the respective passages immediately following the above quotations.

According to LIVY's statement, Metellus asserted that Fabius' opposition to any energetic and efficacious action in the war was only due to egoism. „Fabius, he said, evidently had no other aim but to keep the dictatorial dignity as long as possible. Did the plebs still retain their ancient spirit, („si antiquus animus plebi Romanae esset") he would have boldly proposed to remove Fabius: as it was however, he contented himself with a more temperate and conciliatory proposal, viz. to relieve the magister equitum from the authority of the dictator by investing him with equal power. At any rate however a new consul had to be elected instead of Flaminius before Fabius' departure".

Fabius abstained from discussion and only declared that his magister equitum ought to justify himself for having given battle in opposition to his command.

M. Atilius Regulus was elected consul.

Fabius did not wish to be present on the day on which the revolutionary proposal of Minucius was to be discussed in the comitia. („ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret"). He therefore departed very quietly to the army the night before.

With the break of day the assembly („plebis concilium") was opened. The opinion of the great majority was decidedly favorable to Minucius, hostile to Fabius. Nobody however dared to declare his sentiments in open words nor did anyone appear to defend and recommend Minucius' proposal except the ancient praetor Varro.

(Here a sketch of Varro's person is inserted, which bears all the marks of strong partiality. „C. Terentius Varro, loco non humili sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum" cet.)

The proposal was accepted. In Rome as well as in the army, friend and enemy considered the plebiscite as an insulting demonstration against Fabius. But the dictator himself against everyone's expectation remained imperturbably calm and acquiesced in the resolution taken, which was communicated to him even before his arrival in the army.

According to PLUTARCH, *Metilius* charged Fabius, aided by other powerful and influencial aristocrates, with having deliberatedly involved Rome in the war with Carthage, in order by diminishing the power of the plebs to be enabled again to reduce the state under a monarchic and unrestrained authority.

„Fabius, he asserted, gave plenty of time and opportunity to Hannibal to get a firm footing in Italy and to supply his army with fresh troops from Africa whenever he liked".

Fabius did not deign to refute Metilius' accusations; he only requested that the religious ceremonies, which required his presence in Rome and which the Senate had ordered him to conduct, should be performed as soon as possible, as he desired to return to the army in order to punish the magister equitum for his insubordination.

These words of the dictator excited great irritation and apprehension for Minucius' possible fate. Nobody however dared to oppose the dictator except Metilius, whose person, as a tribune of the people, was safe even from Fabius (ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἄδειαν). Metilius conjured the people not to abandon Minucius and not to suffer that *the dictator should treat his magister equitum as of old Manlius Torquatus had treated his son*. „Fabius, he said, ought to be deprived of the dictatorship and Minucius invested in his place".

The people however did not dare to force Fabius to abdicate but resolved to confer equal power upon Minucius. Fabius acquiesced in this decision and as soon as possible returned to the army in all secrecy, in order to prevent, at least as much as he could, new and reckless entreprises on the part of Minucius.

We see that Plutarch does not mention Varro's appearance in this assembly. He even states expressly that

none but the inviolable tribune of the people dared to speak against the dictator.

The following words however in Metilius' speech as recorded by Plutarch are especially remarkable, as they are not found in any other writer.

„ὁ δὲ Μετίλιος ..... ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολύς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον, μηδ' ἐᾶσαι παθεῖν ἃ Μάλλιος Τουρκουᾶτος ἔδρασε τὸν υἱόν".

The comparison between Fabius and Minucius and Manlius Torquatus and his son is by no means accidental. It emanates from a genuine Roman idea. For the Romans used to compare the relation which ought to exist between a magistrate and his subordinate to that between a father and his son.

Compare among others: Cic. Divin. in Q. Caec. XIX, 61.

„Sic enim a maioribus nostris accepimus praetorem quaestori suo *parentis loco* esse oportere".

Cic. Cum Sen. gr. a. XIV, 35.

„Qui (Cn. Plancius) si mihi *quaestor* fuisset, *in filii loco fuisset*, nunc certe erit in parentis".

See also a Letter of Pliny to Fundanus. (IV, ep. 15.)

..... „hoc solum dico, dignum esse iuvenem, *quem more maiorum in filii locum adsumas*. Debent autem sapientes viri, ut tu, tales quasi a republica liberos accipere quales a natura solemus optare. Decorus tibi erit *consuli quaestor*, patre praetorio" cet.

Nobody will find it probable that the Greek Plutarch invented this comparison. We rather feel inclined to believe that here, as he has often done elsewhere, he renders the substance of an oration he had found in his *Roman* source.

V. Compare Vit. Fab. c. 16 m. with Liv. XXII c. 49 in.

„Τὸν γὰρ Παῦλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τρωθεὶς (L. τρωθέντα?) ὁ ἵππος ἀπεσείσατο καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον πεζὸς τῷ ὑπάτῳ προσήμυνεν. Τοῦτο δ' οἱ ἱππεῖς ἰδόντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἰδὼν δ' Ἀννίβας· „Τοῦτ', ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον".

„Parte altera pugnae Paullus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et concurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, *protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites*, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: „*quam vellem vinctos mihi traderet*".

Everyone will grant that Livy's description is extremely vague and confused, that of Plutarch on the contrary clear and complete. Nevertheless the two statements do not contradict each other. There is an undeniable connection between them. Plutarch sheds a new light on the unintelligible excerpt of Livy. How then could he have followed him?

„Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασιν" says Plutarch. Οἱ. τ. δ. γρ. *ἱ* cannot be taken to mean anything but: *such as have recorded the facts fully and in chronological order.* It of course by no means follows that by this general qualification Livy should be meant, whom moreover Plutarch generally names when quoting him. It can be applied to any

writer, who has described Fabius' time in a coherent narrative.

In discussing the question, from what source Plutarch has borrowed the Life of Fabius Maximus, no one, as far as I am aware, has *sufficiently* availed himself of the remarkable and striking resemblance between this Life and Caput XLIII of SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR or whatever may be the name of the unknown compiler of *De viris illustribus*. All that Victor has condensed into a very small compass, Plutarch gives more at large but in the very same order [1]).

Three instances in Victor's narrative, of which Livy does not say a single word, are especially worth noticing:

I. *Marium Statilium transfugere ad hostes volentem equo et armis donatis retinuit.*

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 20. in.

II. *Lucano cuidam fortissimo ob amorem mulieris infrequenti eandem emptam dono dedit.*

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 20 s. f.

III. *Tarentum ab hostibus recepit. Herculis signum inde translatum in Capitolio dedicavit.*

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 22 f.

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[1]) It will be superfluous to demonstrate that the last sentence of Caput XLIII: *„de redemptione captivorum cum hostibus pepigit: quod pactum cum a senatu improbaretur, fundum suum ducentis' (CCL?) milibus vendidit et fidei satisfecit"* cannot refer to the recapture of Tarentum and is to be inserted after the words: *„Hannibalem mora fregit"*. A copyist probably left out this sentence and added it at the bottom of the chapter.

Is it not strange that Livy, who spent many years in Rome, does not mention this statue? Compare Strab. VI c. 3 in. „ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ χαλκοῦς ὁ κολοσσικός, Λυσίππου ἔργον, ἀνάθημα Μαξίμου Φαβίου τοῦ ἑλόντος τὴν πόλιν [1]).

The resemblance is so exact, that an editor of Plutarch's Life of Fabius would only have to make a few additions to Caput XLIII D. V. I. in order to place it before the text as a summary.

One would feel inclined to think that Victor had only made an excerpt from this Life of Plutarch. Even the first phrase in Victor might suggest such a supposition.

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 1.

„Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικὸν μὲν παρώνυμον ὁ Βερούκωσσος· εἶχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν ἐπάνω τοῦ χείλους ἐπιπεφυκυῖαν. Ὁ δ' Ὀουικούλας σημαίνει τὸ προβάτιον· ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν πραότητα καὶ βαρύτητα (L. βραδυτῆτα) τοῦ ἤθους ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος".

„Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, *ut Verrucosus a verruca in labris, ita Ovicula a clementia morum*".

In fact it would not be strange in itself, if the author D. V. I., in some of his short character-sketches, had passed over the Roman authors and had by preference followed Plutarch. However in comparing Plutarch with the rest of Victor's sketches, which seem to admit of a

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1) Compare also Plin. H. N. XXXIV c. 18. As a reason why Fabius contented himself with this Hercules and left the other colossal statues in the possession of the Tarentines, Pliny alleges, not his generosity extolled by Livy, but the insurmountable difficulties connected with the transport.

comparison, we do not find any other similar instance. That they agree in the principal facts is a matter of course, but for the rest most of the chapters D. V. I. either mention particulars not found in Plutarch, or they contain statements decidedly contradicting his representations. If we except Plutarch's Lives of *Romulus* and *Numa Pompilius* (cc. I—III D. V. I.), where the great similarity is best explained by supposing both their statements about the foundation of the City and the first Kings to be borrowed from Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum atque divinarum*, we observe that unquestionable resemblance is only found in instances, where Plutarch's relation agrees with that of Livy.

There is no connection whatever between Plutarch's Life of *Pyrrhus* (which is undoubtedly derived from Greek sources) and c. XXXV D. V. I.

The Life of *Aemilius Paullus*, the source of which is Polybius, and c. CLVI are entirely discrepant.

The Lives of *Marius* and *Sulla*, when compared with c. LXVII and c. LXXV, show more points of difference than marks of affinity. And special investigations have also shown that in these biographies a close and accurate following of Livy is altogether out of question [1]).

Much more resemblance, not only in the facts but in their succession, is found between the cc. LVII, LXIV and LXV D. V. I. and Plutarch's Lives of the *Gracchi*.

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[1]) Compare Dr. L. J. W. Smit, Observationes in Plut. Vit. C. Marii, Silvae Ducis, 1878 and Dr. J. M. A. van Oppen, Observationes in Plut. Vit. L. C. Sullae, Silvae Ducis 1879.

Van geer among others [1]) has relied upon this resemblance as sufficient proof that Plutarch's representation of the facts is chiefly founded upon Livy. In any case it is certain that even in these biographies Victor does not follow Plutarch, as results clearly from several statements about matters of very subordinate interest mentioned by him and entirely missing in Plutarch.

There is, it is true, a striking similarity between Plutarch's Life of *Marcellus* and c. XLV D. V. I. But here both writers, in the facts as well as in the arrangement, agree almost entirely with Livy.

Now everyone will grant that, if nowhere else in Victor appears any trace of the *Vitae parallelae*, the supposition that he should, exclusively for this insignificant sketch of Fabius Maximus' Life, have quitted his ordinary Latin authorities, in order to betake himself to Plutarch, is a very daring one. To this may be added that it is possible to prove even from Plutarch's text that c. XLIII D. V. I. cannot be drawn from his Life of Fabius. Let us therefore once more closely examine the above-quoted passage from Victor.

„*Marium Statilium* transfugere ad hostes volentem equo et armis donatis retinuit et *Lucano* cuidam fortissimo ob amorem mulieris infrequenti eandem emptam dono dedit".

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 20: „*Λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσον, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον*" . . . . . *κ. τ. λ.*

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[1]) Compare Dr. A. W. van Geer, de Fontibus Plut. in Vitt. Gracchorum, Lugd. Bat. 1878, p. 61 seq.

„Ἕτερον τοίνυν τῷ γένει Λευκανὸν ἄνδρα" .... κ. τ. λ. and see also Front. Strateg. IV c. 7 § 36 and Val. Max. VII c. 3 § 7.

Frontinus too mentions *Statilius'* name and states that he served among the *equites:*

„Q. Maximus transfugere ad hostes volentem *Statilium*, *nobilem clarae operae equitem*, vocari ad se iussit" cet.

Valerius Maximus like Victor relates both anecdotes in very concise terms, though with this difference, that he does not mention any name and speaks of a *pedes Nolanus* and an *eques Lucanus.*

„Cum praecipuae fortitudinis *Nolanum peditem* dubia fide suspectum et strenuae operae *Lucanum equitem* amore scorti deperditum in castris haberet" cet.

We know that the name *Marius* (latinized from μαρας Gen. μαραι) very frequently occurs as a praenomen as well in authors as in inscriptions, in all parts of Italy inhabited by an Oscan population, especially in Campania (Nola and Pompeji furnish more than one instance) and Lucania [1]). In Livy we find *Marius Blosius* mentioned as praetor of the Campanians (XXIII. c. 7) and *Marius Alfius* (XXIII c. 35) as meddixtuticus.

It is precisely the same with the praenomen *Statius* (σταατιις, σταττιηις) and the nomen *Statilius*, which is regularly derived from it. In Livy (XXIV c. 19) we find mentioned among others: *Statius Metius* from

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[1]) Compare THEOD. MOMMSEN, Unteritalische Dialecte, p. 277 and p. 296 seq.

Capua; in Pliny (H. N. XXXIV c. 15) a Lucanian *Stennius Statilius;* in Valerius Maximus (I c. 8 § 6) *Statius Statilius* as a chief of the united Lucanians and Bruttians against Thurii. (282 B. C.)

Marius, *Statius* and *Statilius* consequently were in Lucania as well as in Campania names of frequent occurrence.

(It is more than probable that in the original text of both anecdotes *Marius Statilius*, in connection with whom the first example of Fabius' great tact and knowledge of mankind is related, was no other than the eques Lucanus mentioned in the second tale and the very same person named by Livy in his account of the battle of Cannae (XXII, 42):

(Paullus consul) „*Marium Statilium* praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit".

This supposition is founded upon the fact that the former tale also occurs in Livy. Here we find the details more clearly related (XXIII, c. 15). Livy however does not attribute the action to Fabius but to *Marcellus* [1]), and the young man, whom the general knew so skilfully how to win, is called by him (and also by Plutarch in his Life of Marcellus) „*Lucius Bantius Nolanus*, iuvenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate prope *nobilissimus eques*". Valerius Maximus, as has been said, speaks of a *pedes Nolanus*, but even the nature of Fabius' present shows that here Frontinus is right and only an *eques* can be meant („*equo* et armis donatis eum retinuit").)

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[1]) Compare Plut. Vit. Marc. c. 10.

Now, to return to Plutarch, who, that considers the similarity between him and the Roman authors mentioned, does not see that, with his ordinary negligent way of dealing with Roman names, he has made *Mar-s-us* out of *Mar-i-us?* Or can we fancy any other plausible solution of the enigma why he alone of all writers here speaks of a *Mar-s-us?*

1. Whoever is now convinced that Plutarch has made this mistake, will also grant that caput XLIII D. V. I. is not an excerpt from Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus.

2. The great resemblance, in the facts as well as in their succession, between Plutarch and Victor proves that, from the beginning to the end, both have faithfully followed the same source.

3. This source, from which *Val. Max. VII c.* 3 § 7 and *Front. Strateg. IV c.* 7 § 36 are also taken, cannot be Livy, who, under quite different circumstances, relates of *Marcellus*, what Plutarch, Victor, Valerius Maximus and Frontinus ascribe to *Fabius.*

4. The undeniable similarity in many instances, in form and contents, between *Plut. Vit. Fab.* and *Livy* can therefore only be explained by supposing that, for the time of Fabius, both have followed the same authority, now accurately, now with such deviations, as either thought convenient for the special aims of his work.

In the periodical *Hermes* (V p. 150 seqq.) we find an excellent essay by Dr. ALDENHOVEN, in which this scholar shows that Mommsen has (in the same periodical)

erroneously supposed Valerius Antias to be the source of Victor. As a rule Victor follows, though by no means slavishly, Livy or one of his many epitomists. A careful comparison, with Livy himself as well as with Florus, will fully prove this [1]).

Where however in one special case — with respect to Fabius Maximus — any direct following of Livy is out of question, it is not perhaps superfluous to recollect what H. Peter wrote (in 1865) in his work: Die Quellen des Plut. p. 56 seq. He suggests there, without however entering upon any discussion, that no other writer but L. COELIUS ANTIPATER can have served as a source to Livy and Plutarch for the time of Fabius. „We must either suppose — such is the tenor of Peter's reasoning — that in this Life Plutarch has entirely changed his ordinary way of working, and has this time carefully combined the statements of several authors, or that he does not follow Livy but an other writer".

„Am nächsten läge es nun allerdings an Fabius zu denken, den Plutarch im *Romulus* (*c.* 3 und *c.* 9) citirt und benutzt hat. Auch fände es so seine natürlichste Erklärung, woher er die genauen Nachrichten über die *gens Fabia* (c. 1, 24, 27) hergenommen hat; denn dass er das Fabische Archiv nicht selbst durchforscht hat, lässt sich *a priori* behaupten und wird ausdrücklich bezeugt durch den Zusatz von „λέγουσι" an der Stelle,

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[1]) Dr. van Geer, in his dissertation already quoted, gives a few very good examples (p. 62).

wo er über die *laudatio*, welche Fabius seinem Sohne gehalten, urtheilt: „*οὐ γὰρ ἐπῆν ὠραϊσμὸς οὐδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἀγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοῦς ἴδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων ὡς μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσεοικέναι λέγουσιν*" (c. 1).

„Doch theile ich vollkommen die Bedenken, welche in der oben angeführten Schrift [1]) gegen eine ausgedehnte Benutzung des Fabius geltend gemacht sind und pflichte der Ansicht von NITZSCH bei [2]) dass COELIUS ANTIPATER die dem Polybius, Livius und Plutarch gemeinsame Quelle ist oder, wenn dieser nicht selbst, so doch ein von ihm abgeleiteter Schriftsteller".

Since the appearance of this work however H. Peter has changed his opinion.

In his *Historicorum Romanorum Relliquiae*, published five years afterwards (1870), he merely says in the treatise about Coelius Antipater (p. CCXXXI) „*Plutarchus Coelium non videtur adhibuisse*".

Here again we must believe H. Peter on his word! Nobody can be expected to attribute any value to such authoritative utterances. It remains therefore a matter of interest to inquire, whether the hypothesis of NITZSCH and H. Peter (since retracted by the latter as groundlessly as it had been suggested) is *a priori* probable and, if

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[1]) CARL PETER, Ueber die Quellen des 21sten und 22sten Buches des Livius (Progr. der Landesschule Pforta 1863, p. 55 seqq). Compare also: Dr. HEYDENREICH, Fabius Pictor und Livius, Freiberg 1878.

[2]) See VON SYBEL's Historische Zeitschrift, 1864, p. 20. NITZSCH also contents himself with simply stating his opinion.

so, whether it is not possible to convert it into a certainty [1]).

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[1]) When these remarks were almost ready for the press, my attention was called through GILBERT's elaborate treatise about Coelius Antipater (Die Fragmente des L. Coelius Antipater von Otto Gilbert, Leipzig 1879) to SOLTAU's Diss. inaug. de fontibus Plutarchi in secundo bello Punico enarrando, Bonn 1870. Soltau has like me, though at less length, tried to prove H. Peter's hypothesis and, as might be expected, partly rested his arguments on the same basis. I must leave it to the learned reader to judge in how far my treatment has succeeded in shedding more light upon the question. I venture to hope that a re-examination of the subject may not be thought superfluous, since Soltau's arguments have not convinced Gilbert. For instead of considering Coelius as Plutarch's *fons primarius*, Gilbert even thinks he recognizes in the latter the correcter version of some confused particulars in Coelius' and Livy's statements. (p. 439 seq.)

These particulars refer to the striking phenomena, which were said to have taken place during the battle of Lake Trasimenus. PLUTARCH's statement here (Vit. Fab. c. 3) is perfectly clear, for he simply enumerates the circumstances usually attending upon violent successive earthquakes, such as for instance devastated Southern Italy in 1857:

..... ἅμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ῥεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἕδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὑπώρειαι περιερράγησαν.

The descriptions of *Coelius* and *Livy*, especially that of the former, certainly deal much more in the marvellous.

COELIUS: (See Cic. de Div. I c. 35 § 77)..... tantos terrae motus..... factos esse ut *multa oppida corruerint, multis locis labes factae sint, terraeque desiderint, fluminaque in contrarias partes fluxerint atque in amnes mare influxerit.*

LIVY: (XXII c. 4 f.).... eum motum terrae, qui *multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes ingenti lapsu proruit*.....

Now Gilbert considers Plutarch's statement as „die richtige, der Wahrheit entsprechende, die Fassung der Originalquelle wiedergebende Angabe". „Offenbar, says he, hat so wohl Coelius wie

L. COELIUS ANTIPATER, a contemporary of the Gracchi [1]), has given a detailed description of the second Punic war. Livy, who often cites Coelius, would find in him a rich source of information. He was the first writer, who began to introduce some elegance of style into Roman historiography. „Paululum se erexit et addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater" says Cicero (De Orat. II c. 12 seq.). His predecessors Cato, Pictor and Piso were merely annalists, whose only aim had been to express themselves shortly and clearly.

Valerius (according to him Livy's authority for this part) den Ausdruck des *Griechischen* Originals (Fabius?) nicht oder nur halb verstanden". But the following arguments will I believe invalidate this assertion.

Even supposing the original source to have been *Greek*, yet Coelius and Valerius could hardly have both independently taken from it *prodigies* equally extraordinary in their nature, — COELIUS says that the earthquake made rivers flow upwards towards their sources; LIVY that it levelled huge mountains with the ground! — if their authority had contained nothing more than is found in Plutarch viz. the commonly-kwown phenomena of a violent earthquake.

If on the contrary the original narrative was written in *Latin* — and it is only by supposing this, as we shall afterwards show, that we can explain the remarkable fact that Flaminius' horse according to Plutarch only *took fright* (h-orruit) and did not *fall down* as in all other writers (c-orruit) — the *Romans* Coelius and Livy will undoubtedly have better understood the words of their source than Plutarch, to whose ignorance of Latin so many chapters of the *Vitae parallelae* bear witness.

How then are we to explain the greater clearness of Plutarch? Very easily, it appears to me. Plutarch solved the difficulty simply by substituting, for what he did not understand, something that in itself is perfectly natural. And indeed, he was under no obligation to furnish his readers with a literal translation of his authorities.

[1]) See H. Peter, Histt. Rom. Rell. I p. CCXIII.

Considered as a literary production his work was undoubtedly liable to many objections, but he was certainly much superior to his predecessors who „non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt".

From Cic. Ep. ad Att. XIII, 8 we may safely deduce that Coelius' History of the second Punic war was still read even in the latter days of the Republic and that among others Cicero and his friends knew well how to appreciate it. For from this passage it is evident that M. Brutus, a very learned and clever Stoic, had edited an epitome of Coelius' voluminous work, in which Cicero took a certain interest [1]). That Coelius was also valued under the Emperors is shown in some instances by the Letters of Fronto and by Ael. Spart. Vit. Hadr. c. XVI.

The following authorities of Coelius are enumerated:

FABIUS PICTOR.

Compare Cic. de Divin. 1 c. 26 § 55 and Dion. Halic. VII c. 68.

SILENUS.

Compare Cic. de Divin. I c. 24 § 49 and the dissertation of G. BUJACK: De Sileno scriptore Hannibalis, Königsberg 1859.

CATO.

Compare A. Gell. N. A. c. 24 § 6.

That Coelius did not slavishly adhere to one authority, but carefully compared his sources, is to be concluded from Liv. XXVII c. 27 § 11.

H. PETER (p. CCXVIII) and BERNHARDY (Grundriss der

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[1]) See also Cic. Brut. XXVI, 102.

Römischen Literatur p. 646) have rightly deduced from some fragments of Coelius that he adorned his narration with fictitious orations after the manner of Greek historians. Moreover the praises, which Cicero accords to Coelius, might already suggest this conclusion [1]).

HEEREN (de fontt. et auct. Vitt. parall. Plut. p. 121) has already called the attention to the fact that Plutarch in several records and statements of secondary interest, which Livy mentions less accurately or not at all, entirely agrees with *Polybius*.

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[1]) This particular deserves attention for sundry reasons. No doubt Coelius as well as Polybius has employed the writings of Fabius and Silenus. Livy repeatedly quotes Coelius as well as Polybius (though the latter only towards the end of the third decade). Therefore the similarity between Livy and Polybius in the third decade need not be attributed to a direct following of Polybius. It is equally probable that his authority in this case was Coelius. In Livy himself there is nothing from which we can form a conclusion. However, as for instance we do not find the slightest trace in Polybius of Livy's account of what happened in the *Carthaginian* Senate and of *Hanno's* speech, rendered only in substance by Livy (L. XXI c. 3), as — which is more — this speech is quite inconsistent with Pol. III c. 13 seq., are we not justified in the hypothesis that it is Coelius who has been followed here by Livy? Many instances show that Livy often borrows speeches from his sources. (Compare among others Liv. XXX cc. 29—31 with Pol. XV c. 5 seqq. and Liv. XXXVII c. 53 seq. with Pol. XXII cc. 2—6. See also H. NISSEN's Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der 4ten und 5ten Decade des Livius p. 92 and what WEISSENBORN observes about Hannibal's age with regard to Liv. XXI c. 3 § 2. „Livius scheint diese Nachricht aus einer mit seinen übrigen Angaben nicht übereinstimmenden Quelle, vielleicht *Coelius*, nach welchem Hannibal vor Hamilcar's Tode nach Africa geschickt worden ist, entnommen zu haben".

Compare among others Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 3 with Pol. III c. 84 § 7 and c. 85 § 1 and with Liv. XXII c. 7 *in.* (Statement of the number of killed and captives in the battle near Lake Trasimenus).

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 3 (a little farther) with Pol. III c. 75 in. According to Polybius and Plutarch, Sempronius represented to the Senate the defeat near the Trebia as being less complete than it really was. In Livy's description of the battle this particular is not mentioned. (Liv. XXI c. 54 seq.)

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 6 m. with Pol. III c. 92 f. (The number of soldiers appointed by Fabius to cut off Hannibal's retreat. This statement is not found in Livy. (Liv. XXII c. 15 seq.)

Compare Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 7 in. with Pol. III c. 94 f. After having related how Fabius was taken in by Hannibal's stratagem, both in nearly the same terms mention the disfavour, into which he fell in the eyes of the Roman people. Livy does not speak of this.

Heeren's conclusion however that Polybius was the fons primarius of Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus, does not hold good. In many cases, sometimes also with regard to facts not at all bearing upon the biography itself, Plutarch's statements are much more explicit than those of Polybius. And the hypothesis of Nitzsch and H. Peter l.l. that Coelius Antipater is the common authority of Polybius, Livy and Plutarch is likewise erroneous. Indeed H. Peter himself afterwards acknowledged his mistake and repaired it.

Histt. Rom. Rell. p. CCXXIII seq. he writes:

„Etiam verbum addam de Polybio. Is enim, etsi de ipso anno minus constat, sine dubio ante C. Gracchum, post cuius mortem Coelius historiam scribere coepit, diem supremum obierat, et, quoniam utrique cum Laelio commercium erat, alter alterum ignorare vix poterant (*Hinc corrigenda sunt quae de Plut. Font. p.* 56 *falso scripsi*). Nihilo tamen minus Polybii historias a Coelio lectas esse mihi non est probabile. Qui enim, si legisset, fieri potuit, ut unum ex illo scriptorum Hannibalicorum grege, quem Polybius multa cum acerbitate sed haud inique exagitaverat, et in eis ipsis quidem rebus, quae reprehensae erant, sequeretur et imitaretur? *Quamobrem consensus Coelii Polybiique ex communi eiusdem fontis usu repetendus esse videatur*".

Quite so. But which can be this „fons communis"? Strange to say H. Peter does not even venture a supposition. Still there is a very obvious and simple solution of the question.

If we suppose — which has been repeatedly suggested [1]) — that *Polybius* and *Coelius* have both, independently of each other, followed *Fabius Pictor* and again that *Coelius* is a common authority for *Livy* [2])

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[1]) Compare CARL PETER, Zur Kritik der Quellen der älteren Römischen Geschichte, Halle 1879, p. 97 f.

[2]) That Livy has for this period also consulted among others Valerius Antias' Annals is in our opinion rendered obvious by Gilbert's research, but this scholar's reasoning (p. 442 seqq.) that after comparing Liv. XXII c. 8 § 5—7 with XXII c. 31 § 8 we must necessarily conclude that from cc. 8—31 Coelius *cannot* be followed, does not hold good. Why could not Livy have corrected a mistake in his authority, intending to explain in detail the nature of this mistake, as soon as he found a fit opportunity in his narrative?

and *Plutarch*, the mutual similarity between Polybius, Livy and Plutarch is very naturally explained.

The fons primarius of the Life of Fabius was written in *Latin*. This is obvious from more than one serious blunder, which can only be accounted for by Plutarch's very scanty knowledge of that language. Xylander and others after him [1]) have pointed out several mistakes having a similar origin. However the detailed statements about the gens Fabia and many other particulars in this Life are very probably *originally* — if not directly — due to the Annals of Fabius Pictor, written in Greek.

Here and there (as in the Life of *Valerius Poplicola*) there is something in the manner, in which Fabius' incomparable magnanimity is represented and his virtue exalted — often at the expense of others — which betrays the eulogist who does not simply aim at truth, but at the glorification of his *gens*. There are even more or less distinct traces that noble and prudent actions, which by general tradition were ascribed to others, have been used to adorn Fabius' history.

By comparing Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 20 with D. V. I. c. XLIII we have already shown (p. 19) that one of the two anecdotes, of which, according to the former, Fabius is the hero, is by Livy (and also by Plutarch himself in Vit. Marc.) related more at length of *Marcellus*.

We may add that it has also been contested whether the action mentioned in the other anecdote may be attributed to Fabius, it being considered identical with the

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[1]) See H. Peter, die Quellen des Pl. p. 52.

well-kwown story in Livy about Scipio [1]) and Allucius. (XXVI c. 50).

Now, if we find here distinct traces of Fabius' Annals, if Plutarch's fons primarius was certainly written in Latin and the complete resemblance between Plutarch and Victor excludes the possibility of this fons primarius being supplemented by Plutarch himself from Fabius' work — at least without any doubt as to Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 20 — must not we think it highly probable that Plutarch has followed COELIUS, whom we know to have borrowed much from Fabius' Annals?

And now to convert this probability into a certainty, we might compare the authors, who quote Coelius and of whom we know as a fact that they attributed to him great historical authority: *Cicero*, *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus*. An attentive collation of what is stated by these writers about Fabius and his time with Plutarch's account of the same, promises to make evident whether his information is borrowed from Coelius or no, and if so, whether indirectly or directly. We have already shown how Plutarch's representation of the historical facts, even where these are of little importance for the aim of his work, is often superior to Livy's in minuteness, precision and probability. Now, if in some instances the resemblance between Plutarch and Cicero or between Plutarch and Valerius should prove to be greater

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[1]) Compare Dr. DU RIEU, de Gente Fabia, p. 340.

„Non possum premere suspicionem factum illud male adscriptum esse Fabio quod uberius Livius de Scipione tradidit. Ex quo erroneo fonte ceteri hausisse videntur, qui de Fabio illud narrant".

than between Plutarch and Livy, or if in Plutarch were found passages offering in form and course of ideas a striking similarity to the text of Cicero and Valerius, whilst on the other hand the resemblance to Livy were much less evident or not at all to be observed, this would in the first place furnish new and strong evidence of Plutarch's independance of Livy and secondly give a satisfactory proof of the relation existing between Plutarch's Life of Fabius and Coelius' History of the second Punic war. And as Cicero and Valerius Maximus in their works never mention the *res gestae* of Fabius, except very shortly and only occasionally, Plutarch must have directly followed Coelius (or an excerpt as for instance Brutus') just like the author D. V. I., whose absolute independance of Plutarch has been shown p. 17 seqq.

However the reader might be justly entitled to accuse us of abusing his time and benevolence if, after the hard proof to which his patience has already been put, he were in conclusion to be offerred a whole series of more or less forcible arguments, merely to demonstrate one hypothesis.

It will be preferable and quite answer the purpose to quote one single passage from Plutarch's Life of Fabius which, if compared with Cicero's Livy's and Valerius' texts, will in our modest opinion finally decide the question.

Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 3 we read about Flaminius as follows:

„τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἁλλόμενος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου

προδήλου παραλόγως ἐντρόμου τοῦ ἵππου γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντος, ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὅμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης κ. τ. λ. Cic. de Div. L. I. c. 35:

„Quid? Bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius consul iterum *neglexit, signa rerum futurarum* magna cum clade reipublicae? [1]) Qui exercitu lustrato cum Arretium versus castra movisset et contra Hannibalem legiones duceret, *et ipse et equus eius* ante signum Iovis Statoris *sine causa repente concidit nec eam rem habuit religioni*, obiecto signo, ut peritis videbatur, ne committeret proelium ..... Magnum illud etiam *quod addidit Coelius* cet.

Val. Max. L. I c. 6 § 6.

„C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus, cum apud lacum Trasimenum cum Hannibale conflicturus convelli signa iussisset, *lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus*" ..... cet.

Liv. L. XXII c. 3 f.:

„(Flaminius) cum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, *equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit*".

We see that Plutarch differs from the above-quoted Roman authors in two respects:

1. Plutarch relates that *Flaminius in falling alighted upon his head*, while Livy and Valerius on the contrary say that *Flaminius was thrown over his horse's head.*

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[1]) Compare Cic. De D. N. L. II. c. 3. „C. Flaminium COELIUS *religione neglecta* cecidisse scribit apud Trasimenum cum magno reipublicae vulnere".

2. *Plutarch* states that *Flaminius' horse was frightened*, but not that it *was flung to earth together with its rider.*

Both deviations however are easily to be explained. The first again is caused by Plutarch's very scanty knowledge of Latin.

He who translates *prosecare* by καταχολουθεῖν, may safely be thought capable of taking *labi super caput* in the signification of καταφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ κεφαλήν.

The second point of difference results from a different reading. Cicero uses the expression: „equus sine causa repente *concidit*", Livy *corruit*; Plutarch evidently read in his copy of his fons primarius: *horruit* [1]).

On comparing attentively we find that in other respects the resemblance with LIVY is the greatest.

LIVY	PLUTARCH
„cum ipse in equum insiluisset, equus (sine causa CIC.) repente corruit" cet.	„αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἁλλόμενος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προδήλου παραλόγως ἐντρόμου τοῦ ἵππου γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντος, (horruit) ἐξέπεσε" κ. τ. λ.

But there is one important difference between the two.

The passages of CICERO quoted show that the narrative in Coelius was immediately followed by the

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[1]) That the ordinary reading in Coelius was *c-orruit* is to be accepted on the authority of Cicero, Livy and Valerius. In itself however the reading *h-orruit* too might be irreproachable in this combination. Compare Cic. de Fin. XI. „Quin etiam ferae, inquit Pacuvius, quibus abest ad praecavendum intellegendi astutia, iniecto terrore mortis, *horrescunt*".

remark that Flaminius *did not pay any attention to the evil omen*:

„et ipse et equus eius .... concidit *nec eam rem habuit religioni*".

„C. Flaminium Coelius *religione neglecta* cecidisse scribit".

Precisely the same train of ideas is found in VALERIUS, whose independance of Cicero and Livy is in this instance also evident:

„lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est *nihilque eo prodigio impeditus*" cet.

In LIVY the above-mentioned remark is not found at all.

PLUTARCH on the contrary agrees with Cicero and Valerius *i. e.* with COELIUS ANTIPATER:

.... ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὅμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης.

We have shown that the great resemblance in many instances between Plutarch's Life of Fabius Maximus and Livy is only to be explained by supposing that both have followed the same author, sometimes almost literally, sometimes with more or less freedom.

The similarity between the words quoted from Plut. Vit. Fab. c. 3, Cic. de Div. I c. 35 and Val. Max. I c. 6 § 6, proves that this author is L. COELIUS ANTIPATER.

THE COMMON GREEK SOURCES OF PLUTARCH AND APPIANUS FOR ROMAN HISTORY.

A well-known Leyden philologer has somewhere advised those who doubt the value of textual criticism, at least if they remain open to rational conviction, attentively to compare the first edition of some classic author with a good modern one [1]). In fact, to open one's eyes to the as brilliant as certain results of philological inquiry, no better means could be recommended. In a similar way one might try to convince those who — whatever may be their reasons — think slightly of all research into the origin and credibility of historical statements. He who wishes to acquire a just appreciation of the progress of historical criticism, will derive special profit from a comparison of the earlier investigations about the authorities consulted by ancient writers, with those of our times.

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[1]) C. G. COBET in his *Variae Lectiones*, p. IX.

It is especially during the last half century that the general application of a severer method in this field has led to the most striking discoveries. Almost all ancient writings, to which more or less historical interest can be attached, have been subjected to separate and careful examination, and by comparing and combining the results obtained, we have acquired a much clearer insight into the hitherto but little understood character of ancient historiography.

Even the most excellent Roman and Greek historians, whenever they did not treat of contemporary events but were obliged to take the materials of their work entirely from the *monumenta literata*, had objects in view quite different from those of the more scientific historians of later centuries. As a rule no careful study or critical examination of documents and traditions is found on their part. Even where there are several sources more or less differing from each other at his disposal, the writer often borrows his information with unlimited confidence exclusively from the author, whose personal qualities seem to him the best warrant of his trustworthiness, or whose manner of writing for some reason or other pleases him best. In explaining the facts he hardly ever produces a new and more satisfactory view and generally, not seldom even in the form, follows an already existing representation. He adheres to one chief authority, the statements of whom he sometimes literally reproduces, sometimes shortens or amplifies, according to the aim of his writing, but whom he only exceptionally, and even then hardly ever unless in matters

of subordinate interest, refutes and corrects. His ambition does not excite in him the desire to achieve the greatest possible degree of certainty, in great as well as in small matters: he only tries to produce an historical work of art at once fascinating and instructive.

Highly valuable for a just appreciation of PLUTARCH'S historical studies, and for the knowledge of ancient historiography in general, are the results obtained by HERMANN PETER'S accurate researches into the biographies of the Emperors *Galba* and *Otho* [1]). Peter demonstrates the great and continual resemblance between *Plutarch*, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, a resemblance not diminished by any considerable point of difference and not restricted merely to similar accounts of the principal facts, but appearing as distinctly for instance in their judgments about the prominent characters, in their alleging the same motives as having probably induced such and such a man to act so and not otherwise in a special case, etc. That Plutarch, Tacitus and Suetonius were independent of each other, is evident from the fact that in statements as well as in reasoning now one, now the other is more explicit, so, that they complete each other and that more than once a thoroughly clear and perspicuous idea of the events is only realized by combining their respective statements. Thus the three writers, wherever they agree about Galba and Otho, must have borrowed from some common source. This source is

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[1]) See HERMANN PETER: Die Quellen Plut., p. 28 seqq.

most probably, as has already been suggested by HEEREN, the work of an historian contemporary with both Emperors, viz. *Cluvius Rufus*. And here the following fact is especially characteristic. Plutarch in his Life of *Galba* nowhere refers to any authority; only in two chapters we find the vague indications: *εἴτε ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι* (c. 19) and: *ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, ἔνιοι δ' ἱστοροῦσιν* (c. 27). We should think ourselves justified in concluding from these words that he had at least consulted on his subject a certain number of writings. But what do we observe? Entirely in the same connection and in quite similar terms Tacitus too offers the same different statements.

Plut. Vit. Galb. c. 27:

„Ἀπέσφαξε δ' αὐτὸν (τὸν Γάλβαν), ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Καμούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος. Ἔνιοι δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδιον (δὲ Λεκάνιον Coraës) οἱ δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον" κ. τ. λ.

Tac. Hist. I c. 41.

„De percussore non satis constat. *Quidam* Terentium evocatum, *alii* Lecanium, *crebrior fama* tradidit Camurium *quintae decimae legionis militem* impresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse" cet.

We therefore learn from Peter's researches how slavishly the ancient historians, not even Tacitus excepted, cling to the authority, which has once gained their confidence. At the same time we see how dangerous a thing it is, in case either discrepant statements are placed together, or the authority of other writers is appealed to, to deduce therefrom conclusions about the number and kind of the sources consulted. Who indeed will

warrant that we have not, as here, only to do with second-hand quotations, whilst the real source is nowhere mentioned?

It has ever been considered one of the most important but most difficult questions in historical-philological science, what authorities have been consulted by APPIANUS in his History of the several nations, and especially in his work *De Bellis Civilibus*. Appianus' writings frequently contain statements, by no means improbable in themselves, nor contradictory to the facts known from other authors, but which yet are nowhere related by any of them in the same way, so that a correct measure of his trustworthiness might be called an important discovery. Unfortunately Appianus has thought it quite superfluous to inform his readers about the authorities consulted by him.

The only writer still existant, who can be decidedly proved to have been directly followed by Appianus, is POLYBIUS. Whoever, to take an instance, in which this statement can easily be verified, compares the fragments of Appianus' History of *Macedonia* (excerpta de legationibus) with Polybius' account, will immediately find several characteristics justifying the conclusion that Appianus has here directly followed Polybius, or rather made excerpts from him in a very negligent and unsatisfactory manner. In several instances there is between them a certainly not fortuitous similarity in words and expressions. Where the text of Polybius is quite lost or but scanty fragments have been preserved, we may with the

same result compare Diodorus Siculus, who, as is generally known, is Polybius' most faithful follower. Only the first fragment of the Macedonian History, that which treats of king Philip's league with Hannibal, is decidedly in contradiction with Polybius' statements (Compare L. VII c. 9, where Polybius literally quotes the text of the treaty). Further we only encounter such points of difference as on nearer inspection appear to be merely mistakes and errors of Appianus. Nevertheless Polybius is not even once mentioned by Appianus, either in the general preface to his work or in his History of Macedonia. The only passage, where his name is found, is in the well-known story about Scipio (L. VIII *De Rebus Punicis* c. 132).

Many facts no doubt have been borrowed from DIONYSIUS too. Appianus' preface already shows several points of resemblance to that of Dionysius, and the fragments *De Regibus*, *De Rebus Italicis* and *De Rebus Samniticis* contain a great many particulars we recognize in Dionysius in a similar form, often even in the same order. Dionysius' *Archaeologia* however is not here the only source, and it deserves attention that, where Appianus deviates from Dionysius he, especially in his History of the Kings, very often entirely agrees with LIVY. Thus then there are three probabilities:

Appianus' principal authorities for the most ancient periods of Roman History are Dionysius and Livy,

or he has besides Dionysius consulted here for them an other writer, whose work has also been constantly referred to by Livy,

or he borrows his facts from a work in which the statements of Dionysius and Livy (or Livy's authority) were already incorporated.

Certainty however cannot be attained about the question in what relation Appianus stood to Dionysius and Livy. Neither Dionysius nor Livy are ever named by Appianus.

The same uncertainty prevails about Appianus' relation to SALLUST. Sallust is only named *twice* by Appianus and both times not as writer concerning, but as actor in the events referred to. Compare App. D. B. C. II c. 92 en c. 100. As has already been pointed out by URSINUS [1]), there is, even in the form, a striking similarity between some passages in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and the fragments *De Rebus Numidicis* III and IV. But Sallust's work is certainly not the only source. Who now shall decide whether Appianus has himself borrowed from the Bellum Iugurthinum and at the same time from one or more other writings, or whether he has followed an author, who had already previously combined the statements of Sallust and others?

Just the same is to be said of the relation between Sallust's *Bellum Catilinarium* and Appianus' D. B. C. II cc. 2—7 [2]).

But even the very few instances, where historians or chroniclers are named by Appianus, are of such a nature that they do not admit of any conclusions being derived from them as to his authorities.

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1) Compare SCHWEIGHÄUSER's edition of Appianus, T. III p. 501.
2) See WYNNE, De fide et auctoritate App. p. 39 seqq.

FABIUS PICTOR, CASSIUS HEMINA and RUTILIUS RUFUS are each mentioned *once*.

App. De B. Hannib. c. 27.

„ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόϊντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων".

App. De Rebus Gall. fr. VI.

This fragment, somewhat differing from Livy, contains the legend about the offering of Fabius Dorso. Compare DU RIEU, de Gente Fabia p. 132 seqq.

„καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὧδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος".

App. De Rebus Hisp. c. 88.

„ὁ δὲ (Σκιπίων) Ῥουτίλιον Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, (the siege of Numantia) .... ἐκέλευσε .... ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας".

Two other writers, otherwise unknown, are also each quoted once:

App. De Rebus Gall. fr. I, 3.

„οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πείσωνος καὶ Καισσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλ.ῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ". (Compare Caesar De B. Gall. I c. 12.)

Neither SCHWEIGHÄUSER, who supposed *Q. Claudius Quadrigarius* to be meant here, nor HULLEMAN, who suggested reading *Claudius Pollio* [1]), has been able to advance solid arguments in favour of his opinion.

App. De B. C. III c. 77.

„ὧδε μέν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ· Λίβωνι δ' ὅτι

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[1]) Compare *Mnemos.*, T. V (1856) p. 307 seqq.

τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν ἰδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους κ. τ. λ.

Nowhere do we find recorded that Pompey's well-known friend *Libo* ever wrote any historical work. Schweighäuser (Ann. ad Lib. III D. B. C.) proposes to read Λιβίῳ. Compare Liv. Epit. CXIV in.[1])

VARRO is mentioned *twice:*

App. De B. C. L. II c. 9.

„Καί τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην (the first triumvirate) συγγραφεὺς Βάῤῥων ἑνὶ βιβλίῳ περιλαβὼν ἐπέγραφε Τρικάρανον".

App. De B. C. L. IV c. 47.

Βάῤῥων δ' ἦν φιλόσοφός τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκὼς καὶ ἴσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προὐγράφη.

Finally ASINIUS POLLIO is mentioned *once*, CAESAR and AUGUSTUS each *three times*, as relators of the facts:

App. De B. C. L. II c. 82.

„Ἀσίνιος δὲ Πολλίων, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν, ἑξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὑρεθῆναι τῶν Πομπηΐου".

App. De Reb. Gall. fr. XVIII.

„Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν φάναι κ. τ. λ.

App. De B. C. L. II c. 79.

„Καὶ τόδε τινὲς αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Πομπηΐου) τὸ στρατήγημα

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[1]) See also COBET in the Mnemos. Nov. Ser. VII (1879) p. 236.

ἐπαινοῦσιν ..... ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται".

App. De B. C. L. II c. 99.

..... „ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἀντικάτων".

App. De Reb. Illyr. c. 14.

„τὰ μὲν δὴ πάλαι τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἔσχον εὑρεῖν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κληθέντος καὶ Σεβαστοῦ παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παιόνων εὗρον".

App. De B. C. L. IV c. 110 s. f.

... „μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι· Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν".

App. De B. C. L. V. c. 45 s. f.

„Ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς Φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ ἐκ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων".

Now after having inspected these passages, anyone, that has read and re-read Appianus, will be obliged to grant that it is only the quotations from the last three authors: POLLIO, CAESAR and AUGUSTUS, which give any ground to suppose that Appianus has made a diligent use of their writings. In how far however this supposition, suggested by Wynne, Hulleman and others, can bear the test of careful examination, deserves to be inquired.

A well-known fact, already observed by the first editors,

is the great, sometimes even literal agreement between this writer's History and Plutarch's Lives. This agreement formerly induced even renowned scholars, like HEEREN and DRUMANN, to consider Plutarch as one of the principal sources of Appianus. Detailed investigations however, like NITZSCH's in his well-reputed work: Die Gracchen p. 438 seqq., WYNNE's (De fide et auctoritate App. pp. 23—27, pp. 53—55 and pp. 71—73) and HERMANN PETER's (Die Quellen des Plut. *passim*), have clearly shown how indefensible is this supposition. There are, as they demonstrate, certain unmistakeable characteristics, which seem to point to quite other conclusions. It is now the one and now the other, who gives a more complete representation of the facts, each according to the peculiar aim of his writing. More than once the account of one of the authors is unintelligible in itself and the true meaning of his words is only discovered from what is stated by the other. Now and then too both their statements want clearness, which is immediately obtained by combining them [1]).

Among the Lives, in which Plutarch has for a considerable part borrowed from the same authorities as Appianus, those of the *Gracchi*, of *Marius*, of *Caesar*, of *Pompey* and of *Brutus* deserve special attention. A comparison of some of the according passages will perhaps lead us to some results, which until now have been quite overlooked or at least not been pointed out distinctly; and in any case it may not be thought super-

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[1]) Compare COBET Collect. Crit. p. 549.

fluous to test the value of certain conclusions, which Wynne, Hulleman and H. Peter have drawn from these passages.

I. The gracchi.

H. Peter (Die Q. p. 99) very rightly observes:

„Gesetzt auch dass es nur Zufall wäre, wenn sie sich beide (Plut. und App.) oft derselben Ausdrücke bedienen, z. B. bei beiden (Tib. 19 und App. D. B. C. I c. 16) Scipio Nasica „τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου" sich über den Kopf zieht und Aehnliches, so beweisen doch andere Stellen, die auch in der Art der Darstellung einander ähnlich sind, dass die oft auffallende Uebereinstimmung zwischen beiden nicht allein darin ihren Grund haben kann dass sie getreue Berichte über dieselben Thatsachen geben sondern auch *in der Benutzung derselben Aufzeichnung*".

To prove his assertion he compares Plut. Tib. c. 12 with App. De B. C. L. I. c. 12. The same result is obtained by comparing the following chapters:

Plut. Tib. c. 13.

„Ἐκ τούτου κυροῦται μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς χώρας νόμος, αἱροῦνται δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ διανομήν, αὐτὸς Τιβέριος καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος ὁ πενθερὸς καὶ Γάϊος Γράκχος ὁ ἀδελφός".

App. De B. C. L. I. c. 13.

„Κοΐντος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἥρεῖτο καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο. διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτὸς ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου καὶ ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος".

LIVY expresses himself somewhat differently (Epist. 58):
„in eum furorem exarsit ut M. Octavio collegae .... potestatem lege lata abrogaret seque et C. Gracchum fratrem et Appium Claudium socerum triumviros ad dividendum agrum crearet".

It has justly been remarked that it is indeed a very futile question, whether according to LIVY's statement Tiberius himself appointed the triumviri or, according to Plutarch and Appianus, had them chosen by the plebs, who obeyed him meekly in every thing. Nevertheless the fact that the latter, who are independant of each other, here agree entirely, is only to be accounted for by supposing a common authority for both, which may chiefly rest upon Livy, but cannot be Livy himself [1]).

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[1]) Dr. BYVANCK in his „Studia in Tib. Gracchi Historiam", (Lugd. Bat. 1879) maintains that at least Appianus' relation of the death of Tiberius Gracchus shows evident traces of having been borrowed by the writer directly from an old Latin source (Livy). The comitia, during which Tiberius Gracchus was murdered, were held on the CAPITOLIUM *i. e.* in the *area Capitolina* and not, as Appianus represents, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. So for instance Appianus is incorrect and deficient in clearness in saying (De B. C. I c. 15 m.):
(ὁ Τιβέριος) „κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεών, ἔνθα χειροτονήσειν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας".

But in what must the origin of his error be sought? Let us quote Dr. Byvanck's own words (p. 28):

„Quam ob rem vero Appianus hic dixit κατέλαβε τὸν νεών? Nempe hoc saltem ex superioribus argumentis colligere fas est, (Dr. B. has shortly before reminded us with a reference to Mommsen (Boll. dell' Instit. 1845 p. 124) that by the word *Capitolium* since the first century of the Christian era was meant, especially among the Greeks, *the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus*) si in libris noster invenisset Gracchum sive *Capitolium* sive

As to this authority a sure inference may be drawn from a comparison of Plut. Vit. Tib. c. 10 with App. De B. C. I c. 12.

Plut.

.... „πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν δεομένων καὶ λιπαρούντων ὥσπερ ἐκβιασθεὶς ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἀντικαθίστατο τῷ Τιβερίῳ καὶ διεκρούετο τὸν νόμον. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ κωλύοντος ἐν τοῖς δημάρχοις τὸ κράτος· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ κελεύοντες περαίνουσιν ἑνὸς ἐνισταμένου".

App.

„Μάρκος δ' Ὀκτάουϊος, δήμαρχος ἕτερος ὑπὸ τῶν κτηματικῶν διακωλύειν παρεσκευασμένος (καὶ ὢν ἀεὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων δυνατώτερος) ἐκέλευε τὸν γραμματέα σιγᾶν".

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templum Iovis occupasse, eum non versurum fuisse *templum Capitolii*. Igitur nil aliud restat, quam Graece vertisse Appianum illud pervulgatum Latinum *templum occupavit* notum ex Cicerone et Livio".

It is from this reasoning easy to understand that the fault of Appianus is naturally to be explained as arising from the misapprehension of a Latin source. But in a note on the same page Dr. B. adds:

„Obiter hic monendum est et Plutarchum fingere Scipionem χωρεῖν πρὸς τὸ Καπετώλιον; putes eum eodem errore implicatum esse atque Appianum (cf. τὸν δῆμον ἠθροῖσθαι περὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον, *quod ad templum spectat*), verum haec non nimis exquirenda a Plutarcho".

Now we take the liberty of asking: Which is more plausible that Plutarch and Appianus, quite independently of each other, should both have fallen into the same historical inaccuracy through their misunderstanding of the expressions *Capitolium* and *templum occupare*, or that both have been led into the same error by an imperfect knowledge of Latin on the part of one of their mutual Greek authorities?

One would at least be inclined to say the latter.

It would be indeed a very strange accident if both writers, independently of each other, should at one point of their narration introduce the same observation about the *intercessio tribunicia*. Their agreement is only to be explained in a satisfactory manner on the supposition that the observation referred to was contained in their common source. The nature of this observation itself shows that this common source was intended for Greek readers and must of course have been written in Greek.

II. Marius.

In c. 43 and c. 44 of the Life of Marius the same authority, from which Appianus drew his information, has evidently been followed. The scholars, who have tried to prove that this authority is *Posidonius*, might have pointed out in favour of their hypothesis the peculiar character of the similarity. The resemblance, in form as well as in contents, is such, that there can be no question either of a free or of a more literal following of a work written in any other language but Greek. Compare for instance the account how the legates of the senate were received by Marius and Cinna, and especially also the narrative of the death of the orator Marcus Antonius and of Q. Lutatius Catulus [1]).

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[1]) It is peculiar to Appianus that — in order perhaps to avoid the appearance of a too faithful following — he carefully changes the words and expressions of his source, though in his choice of substitutes he is frequently far from fortunate. Compare for instance Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 15 with App. De Rebus Gall. fr. II (general sketch of Caesar's exploits in Gaul), and the passage from

III. Caesar and pompey.

Plutarch's biographies of Caesar and Pompey furnish several passages, the similarity of which to Appianus is most striking. Compare for instance Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 31 seqq. with App. De B. C. II c. 33 seqq. [1]). We even find that Plutarch and Appianus more than once appeal to the authority of the same writers, and therefore easily comprehend Heeren's and Wynne's reasoning (p. 55),

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the Life of Brutus (c. 10), of which Prof. cobet treats in the Mnemosyne, Nov. Ser. VII (1879) p. 14, with App. De B. C. II c. 113. A very striking example is also found by comparing App. De Rebus Samn. fr. XII with Dion. Halic. A. R. XIX c. 10 (shipwreck of king Pyrrhus).

Dion. Halic.

„Ἡ δὲ δικαία πρόνοια τὴν αὑτῆς δύναμιν ἀπεδείξατο. ὡς γὰρ ἀνήχθησαν αἱ νῆες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος τὴν μὲν ἀπόγειον αὖραν λαβοῦσαι προέκοψαν· ἄνεμος δ' ἐναντίος γενόμενος καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κατασχών, ἃς μὲν κατέκλυσεν, ἃς δ' εἰς τὸν τῆς Σικελίας πορθμὸν ἐξέβαλεν· ἐν αἷς δὲ παρεκομίζετο τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ ὁ προενεχθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων χρυσὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐξώκειλεν αἰγιάλους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλέοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ παλιῤῥοίᾳ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζομένους διέφθειρε, τὰ δ' ἱερὰ χρήματα, διασπασθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἔγγιστα τῶν Λοκρῶν θῖνας ἐξέβρασεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καταπλαγεὶς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀπέδωκε τῇ θεῷ (τῇ Περσεφόνῃ) ὡς παραιτησόμενος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χόλον".

App.

„Ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμὼν ὑπέλαβε καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέρριψε· τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Λοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν· ὥστε καὶ Πύῤῥον ὀψὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλαῖς".

[1]) A complete enumeration of the corresponding passages is found in Wynne's dissertation De fide et auct. App. p. 53 seqq.

who think that here at least it is not necessary to lose oneself in conjectures. Indeed Plutarch and Appianus themselves, they maintain, here give us very clear and trustworthy indications as to their common sources. A closer investigation however leads to other conclusions.

Between Appianus' writing *De Rebus Gallicis* and Caesar's own Memoirs there is an undeniable connection [1]). But how are we to account for this circumstance?

In the beginning of Caesar's fourth book *De Bello Gallico* the treacherous attacks of the Usipetes and Tencteri are mentioned. They (c. 11) had asked and obtained a short truce, as they pretended, in order to have an occasion to send a deputation to the Ubii (c. 13). Caesar had consequently sent orders to the commanders of the cavalry, which was far in advance of the rest of the army, to abstain from all action against the enemy until he himself came up with his infantry.

„At hostes (c. 12) ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat quinque milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites haberent .... nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paullo ante a Caesare discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat ab his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt .... atque ita perterritos egerunt ut non prius fuga desisterent quam in conspectu agminis nostri venissent ..... Hoc facto proelio (c. 13) Caesar neque iam sibi legatos audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur".

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[1]) See SCHWEIGHÄUSER T. III p. 184.

When on the following day an illustrious deputation, among whom were many Germans of the first rank, appeared in Caesar's camp to apologize for what had happened, and at the same time to treat about a prolongation of the armistice, Caesar ordered the whole deputation to be detained as prisoners, immediately marched forwards and by a sudden attack compelled the enemy to a desastrous flight.

„Quo loco (c. 14) qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt paulisper nostris restiterunt atque inter carros impedimentaque proelium commiserunt; at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque passim fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit. Germani (c. 15) post tergum clamore audito, cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis signisque militaribus relictis se ex castris eiecerunt et cum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes perpaucis vulneribus ex tanto belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum CCCCXXX milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt".

Now compare with this passage of Caesar Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 22 and App. de Reb. Gall. fr. XVIII.

Plut.

„Τραπόμενος δ' αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ δυνάμεις πολὺν καταλαμβάνει πόλεμον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, δύο Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν μεγάλων ἐπὶ κατακτήσει γῆς ἄρτι τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβεβηκότων. Οὐσίπας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑτέρους, τοὺς δὲ Τεντερίδας. Περὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τούτους γενομένης

μάχης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι γέγραφεν ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι διαπρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐπιθοῖντο καθ' ὁδόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρέψαιντο τοὺς αὐτοῦ πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας ἱππέας ὀκτακοσίοις τοῖς ἐκείνων μὴ προσδοκῶντας· εἶτα πέμψειαν ἑτέρους πρὸς αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐξαπατῶντας [1]) οὓς κατασχὼν ἐπαγάγοι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν πρὸς οὕτως ἀπίστους καὶ παράσπονδους πίστιν εὐήθειαν ἡγούμενος [2]) .... τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπεῖσαι τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν".

App.

„Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν φάναι πρέσβεις .... ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν καὶ ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχιλίους. ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων".

Moreover we read in App. l. l.:

„ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι (δοκεῖ) τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών· καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι".

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[1]) Caes. De B. G. L. IV c. 13: „ut, si quid possent, de indutiis *fallendo* impetrarent".

[2]) Caes. ib. „neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab iis qui *per dolum et insidias* petita pace ultro bellum intulissent: *expectare vero ..... summae dementiae esse iudicabat*".

It is remarkable that Plutarch and Appianus both quote in the very same place an other writer in addition to Caesar:

Plut. l. l.

„Τανύσιος δὲ λέγει Κάτωνα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ψηφιζομένης ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας ἀποφήνασθαι γνώμην ὡς ἐκδοτέον ἐστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀφοσιουμένους τὸ παράσπόνδημα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν εἰς τὸν αἴτιον τρέποντας".

App. l. l.

„Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναργὲς ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσαμένους ἐργασάμενον".

It will strike any attentive reader that in Plutarch and Appianus many particulars of Caesar's statement are shortened and modified in the same way. To HERMANN PETER however (Die Qu. des Plut. p. 121) is due the credit of having first formed a correct judgment about the two quotations found in both.

„Da nun Appian, says Peter, auch sonst sehr oft mit Plutarch übereinstimmt, so wird wohl anzunehmen sein dass diese Citate, das eine wie das andere, in der gemeinschaftlichen Quelle des Plutarch und Appian standen und weder Caesars Commentarien über den gallischen Krieg noch Tanusius von Plutarch (u. Appian) eingesehen worden sind".

Now whoever grants the truth of Peter's reasoning, will without hesitation assent to the following general rule:

If in two or more narratives, not directly depending on each other, we find in the relation of the same par-

ticulars, in the same connection, repeated references to the same authors, we must suppose that it was not the writings of these authors themselves, which were consulted, but a work, in which the above-mentioned references were already found.

Of entirely the same kind is the similarity between some other passages in Plutarch and Caesar's work *De Bellis Civilibus.*

Caesar De B. C. III c. 92 speaks about Pompey's tactics at Pharsalus as follows:

„Inter duas acies tantum erat relictum spatii ut satis esset ad concursum utriusque exercitus. Sed Pompeius suis praedixerat ut Caesaris impetum exciperent neve se loco moverent aciemque eius distrahi paterentur idque admonitu C. Triarii fecisse dicebatur, cet. *Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur*, propterea quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quae studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere sed augere imperatores debent.

Plut. Caes. c. 44.

„Πομπήϊος μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἑστῶτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολεμίων μέχρις ἂν ὑσσοῦ βολῆς ἐντὸς γένωνται. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διαμαρτεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν ἀγνοήσαντα τὴν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ φορᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ γιγνομένην σύῤῥαξιν ὡς ἔν τε ταῖς πληγαῖς βίαν προστίθησι καὶ συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναῤῥιπιζόμενον".

Plut. Pomp. c. 69 in.

„Ὁ δὲ Πομπήϊος ἀφ' ἵππου τὴν παράταξιν ἐπισκο-

πῶν ..... ἔδεισε μὴ διασπασθῇ παντάπασιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης· καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἔδωκεν ἑστῶτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρότως δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αἰτιᾶται τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦτο· τῶν τε γὰρ πληγῶν τὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τόνον ἀμαυρῶσαι καὶ τὴν μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πληροῦσαν ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ Φορᾶς ἀντεξόρμησιν ἅμα κραυγῇ καὶ δρόμῳ τὸν θυμὸν αὔξουσαν ἀφελόντα (L. ἀφελὸν) πῆξαι καὶ καταψύξαι τοὺς ἄνδρας".

App. De B. C. II c. 79.

„Πομπήϊος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοῖς πεζοῖς μήτ' ἐπεκθεῖν ἔτι μήτ' ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς Φάλαγγος μηδ' ἀκοντίζειν ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ διαστάντας ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς δόρασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας καὶ τόδε τινὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὡς ἄριστον ἐν περικυκλώσει· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς [1]) καταμέμφεται· τάς τε γὰρ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς εὐτονωτέρας γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμοτέρους· ἑστῶτας δ' ἀποψύχεσθαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους δι' ἀτρεμίαν οἷα σκοποὺς εἶναι".

We see that here too we have to do with quotations already found in the common source.

And here too the common authority of Appianus and Plutarch was undoubtedly Greek.

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[1]) From the comparison with Plut. l. l. and with the Commentaries of Caesar himself (De B. C. III c. 92) results clearly that Appianus in speaking of „Ἐπιστολαί" is mistaken. We have thus the more reason to believe that Appianus' knowledge of Caesar's writings was but indirect.

A comparison shows that the expression of Plutarch „ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι" cannot possibly mean any other work than Caesar's *Commentarii*. However „ἐφημερίδες — Appianus prefers „ἴδιαι ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων", which of course comes to the same — is indeed a very incorrect and inexact word to apply to Caesar's Memoirs. *Commentarii*, such as for instance Sulla, Caesar and Augustus wrote, are called not only by other Greek writers but also by Plutarch and Appianus themselves „ὑπομνήματα" [1]), while „ἐφημερίδες" are of course exclusively *commentarii diurni*. Now as it would be absurd to suppose that Plutarch and Appianus, whilst in other instances quite correctly translating *commentarii* by ὑπομνήματα, should only here both have fallen into the same error, we cannot but attribute the mistake to the author of their common source.

Very distinct traces of this Greek source are also to be observed in comparing Plut. Pomp. c. 71, Plut. Caes. c. 44 s. f. and App. De B. C. II c. 82 with Caesar De B. C. III c. 91.

Caesar relates as follows:

„Erat Crastinus evocatus in exercitu Caesaris, qui superiore anno apud eum primum pilum in legione decima duxerat, vir singulari virtute. Hic signo dato: *Sequimini me*, inquit, *manipulares mei qui fuistis et vestro imperatori quam constituistis operam date. Unum hoc proelium superest quo confecto et ille suam dignitatem et nos*

[1]) Compare for instance Plut. Vit. Brut. c. 41 and App. De B. C. IV, c. 110.

nostram libertatem recuperabimus. Simul respiciens Caesarem: „*Faciam*, inquit, *hodie*, *imperator*, *ut aut vivo mihi aut mortuo gratias agas*" cet.

Plut. (Vit. Caes.).

„Αὐτὸς δὲ (ὁ Καῖσαρ) κινεῖν τὴν φάλαγγα μέλλων καὶ προϊὼν ἐπ' ἔργον ἤδη πρῶτον ὁρᾷ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἄνδρα τινὰ πίστὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολεμίων ἔμπειρον, ἐπιθαρσύνοντα τοὺς ὑΦ' αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλούμενον εἰς ἄμυναν ἀλκῆς. Τοῦτον ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύσας· Τί ἐλπίζομεν (εἶπεν) Γάϊε Κρασσίνιε [1]) καὶ πῶς τοῦ θράσους ἔχομεν; ὁ δὲ Κρασσίνιος, ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ μέγα βοήσας· Νικήσομεν, ἔΦη, λαμπρῶς ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ τεθνηκότα ἐπαινέσεις".

Plut. (Vit. Pomp.)

.... „πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος Φάλαγγος ἐξέδραμε Γάϊος Κρασσινιανός [1]) ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι λοχαγῶν μεγάλην ἀποδιδοὺς ὑπόσχεσιν Καίσαρι. Πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξιὼν τοῦ χάρακος εἶδε καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἤρετο πῶς Φρονοίη περὶ τῆς μάχης. Ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας ἀνεβόησε· „Νικήσεις λαμπρῶς ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ δ' ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπαινέσεις".

App.

.... „Κρασσίνιος λοχαγὸς ὢν Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤρετο ὅτι προσδοκῴη· ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόησε· Νικήσομεν ὦ Καῖσαρ· κἀμὲ ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξει".

There can hardly be any doubt that the narratives of Plutarch and Appianus are founded upon Caesar's

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[1]) The carelessness, with which Greek writers and especially Plutarch deal with Roman names, is sufficiently known.

statement; especially as Plutarch has just before (Vit. Caes. c. 44, Vit. Pomp. c. 69) referred to Caesar by name. But let it be observed how exactly Plutarch and Appianus agree in a modification of the original narrative, certainly very insignificant in itself.

Caesar himself does not relate that he *accosted* Crastinus and *thereby* made him say „Faciam hodie ut aut vivo mihi aut mortuo gratias agas". Plutarch (in two Lives) and Appianus both mention this particular, and attribute almost the same words to the imperator. Crastinus' answer moreover is also nearly identical in Plutarch and Appianus.

Plut. Vit. Caes.

„Νικήσομεν, ἔφη, λαμπρῶς ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ τεθνηκότ' ἐπαινέσεις".

Plut. Vit. Pomp.

„Ὁ δ' ἀνεβόησε· νικήσεις λαμπρῶς ὦ Καῖσαρ· ἐμὲ δ' ἢ ζῶντα τήμερον ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπαινέσεις",

App.

„Ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόησε· νικήσομεν ὦ Καῖσαρ· καμὲ ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξει".

This agreement clearly proves the common use of one Greek authority. How else indeed could two persons, independently of each other, give the same *free* translation of the same words?

Only one objection might be made. In the same chapter of Appianus (c. 82) we find also quoted *C. Asinius Pollio*. Pollio was present with Caesar at the battle and like him gave a description of it. He too might accordingly have mentioned Crastinus' heroic beha-

viour and it is as possible that it is his narrative which has been followed. As however Pollio's *Historiae* were certainly written in Latin and not, as Casaubonus and others supposed, in Greek, and as it is impossible to represent to oneself any Latin sentence, of which Crastinus' words, as read in Plutarch and Appianus, could be the literal translation, even in this case the exact agreement is not to be explained but by supposing that Plutarch and Appianus have founded their narrative about Crastinus on the same Greek work.

A close consideration of the place in Appianus, where C. Asinius Pollio is referred to as an authority, might still lead to other conclusions.

WYNNE (De fide et auct. App. p. 31), HULLEMAN (Mnemos. 1856 p. 175 seqq.) and HERMANN PETER (Die Qu. des Plut. p. 124) agree — and until now their opinion seems not to have met with any contradiction — that, for the history of the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, Plutarch and Appianus have both directly borrowed a good deal from Pollio's Historiae. The similarity in form and contents between Plutarch and Appianus, which is to be observed in several subsequent chapters (compare Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 32 seqq. and App. De B. C. II c. 35 seqq.), the circumstance that both mention Pollio as an actor in as well as a narrator of the facts, and the points of resemblance, which their representation offers with the narrative of Suetonius (Vit. Caes. c. 31 seqq.), who also refers to Pollio's Historiae (c. 30), have together led the

learned to a conclusion, which is nevertheless open to attack.

As has been said (p. 43), Appianus only *once* names Pollio as a writer (De B. C. II. c. 82). Where he gives the number of the soldiers killed on both sides at Pharsalus, he states among other things:

„ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές Φασι (οἱ ἐπ. = Caesar) δισμυρίους ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Πολλίων ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν ἑξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὑρεθῆναι τῶν Πομπηΐου".

Plutarch mentions Pollio only *twice* as a writer: once in the Life of Pompey and once in that of Caesar.

Plut. Pomp. c. 72.

„Ἔφυγε δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα καὶ Φόνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺς ἐγένετο σκηνοφυλάκων καὶ θεραπόντων· στρατιώτας δὲ μόνους ἑξακισχιλίους Φησὶ πεσεῖν Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων μεμαχημένος ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην μετὰ Καίσαρος".

Plut. Caes. c. 46.

„Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐν τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Πομπηΐου γενόμενος τούς τε κειμένους νεκροὺς ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων εἶδε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικτεινομένους, εἶπεν ἄρα στενάξας· ταῦτ' ἐβουλήθησαν" κ. τ. λ. (compare Suet. Vit. Caes. c. 30. „*Hoc voluerunt*" cet.) Ταῦτά Φησι Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος .... τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς πλείστους οἰκέτας γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ χάρακος ἀναιρεθέντας· στρατιώτας δὲ μὴ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων πεσεῖν.

We see that Plutarch in both these Lives refers to the same passage of Pollio as Appianus c. 82. One quotation only differs from the other in its greater ampleness. Now we may ask: would it not be a very

strange accident if two historians, borrowing, independently of each other a series of facts and particulars from the same authority, should in the one instance where they refer to this authority by name, have done so exactly in the same connection and in relating the same fact?

Such an accident however must necessarily be accepted, if the supposition that Pollio's Historiae are here the common authority, were just. Moreover, in order to maintain the opinion of the learned about the use of Pollio's work by Plutarch and Appianus, we should be obliged to suppose an other accident, still more curious if possible.

Plut. (Vit. Pomp.) and App. must not only have both referred to Pollio in mentioning the same detail of subordinate interest, but also have both, just while referring to this detail, found it necessary to inform their readers that Pollio was present at the battle and this too in exactly the same terms.

App. „A. Π. ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν".

Plut. „A. Π. μεμαχημένος ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην μετὰ Καίσαρος".

Credat Judaeus Apella! Here again we have evidently an other quotation already found in the fons communis, and there are strong reasons to believe that Plutarch and Appianus have taken all the data in their writings, that were originally founded upon Pollio's Historiae, from a Greek source, very likely the same, which has also furnished the quotations from Caesar's Commentaries already mentioned.

IV. Brutus.

Here too the striking resemblance in a great many instances between Plutarch and Appianus is, according to the opinion of the learned, only satisfactorily to be accounted for by supposing that their statements are founded upon one common authority [1]). Some of these instances are peculiarly valuable for a just appreciation of the quotations found in both writers.

We will give a few examples.

Compare App. De B. C. IV c. 110 with Plut. Vit. Brut. c. 41 (Vit. Ant. c. 22).

Appianus relates concisely, Plutarch more in detail, Brutus' assault on the common encampment of Antony and Octavian. Otherwise their accounts agree quite well.

Octavian, as both state in conclusion, was absent during the assault.

Plut.

„Καὶ Καῖσαρ μέν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἱστορεῖ, τῶν φίλων τινός, Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου, καθ' ὕπνον ἰδόντος ὄψιν κελεύουσαν ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρα καὶ μετελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἔφθασε μικρὸν ὑπεκκομισθεὶς ἔδοξέ τε τεθνάναι".

App.

.... „μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι· Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος ἀλλὰ Φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν".

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[1]) See among others COBET (Mnemos. V (1879) p. 14 seqq.) who shows how the text of one of the authors can serve to emendate the other.

Is it not evident that this quotation from Octavian's Memoirs too was already found in the fons communis? (Compare H. Peter, Die Qu. des Plut. p. 136.)

In Plutarch's Life of *Brutus*, the battle of Philippi (cc. 38—53) is described at great length. In this description the Memoirs of two eye-witnesses, friends to Brutus, *Messalla Corvinus* [1]) and *P. Volumnius* [2]) are repeatedly referred to. It is of course impossible to decide with respect to every particular and every detail, what has been borrowed from the former, and what from the latter of these authors. But no attentive reader will contest that *Volumnius*, who did not leave Brutus after his defeat, has undoubtedly furnished the detailed account of Brutus' flight and of his death (cc. 50—52); while from *Messalla's* work (see c. 53 in.) is borrowed the other, somewhat deviating statement about his death, which is mentioned afterwards (c. 52 s. f.), with the words: „Οἱ δέ φασιν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν Στράτωνα .... ὑποστῆσαι τὸ ξίφος" κ. τ. λ.

Appianus, it is true, does not name either Volumnius or Messalla, but on comparing his account with Plutarch's it will appear that he had the same materials in the same order at his disposal. Plut. Vit. Brut. c. 50 namely and App. De B. C. IV c. 129 m. (the narrative about a certain Lucilius, who imposed himself upon the enemy as Brutus and had himself captured as such) are

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[1]) Compare Plut. Vit. Brut. cc. 40, 42, 45 and 51 seqq.
[2]) Compare Plut. Vit. Brut. cc. 48 and 51 seqq.

passages so strongly resembling that there cannot be any doubt as to their being drawn from the same source, which was most faithfully and even literally followed.

Then they continue as follows:

Plut. c. 51 in.

„Βροῦτος δὲ διαβάς τι ῥεῖθρον ὑλώδες καὶ παράκρημνον, ἤδη σκότους ὄντος, οὐ πολὺ προῆλθεν ἀλλ' ἐν τόπῳ κοίλῳ καὶ πέτραν ἔχοντι μεγάλην προκειμένην καθίσας, ὀλίγων περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ φίλων ὄντων, πρῶτα μὲν ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ὄντα μεστόν, ἀνεφθέγξατο δύο στίχους, ὧν τὸν ἕτερον Βολούμνιος ἀνέγραψε·

Ζεῦ μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν·
τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου φησὶν ἐπιλαθέσθαι".

App. c. 130.

Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει ὡς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων· καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

Ζεῦ μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν.

Plutarch then relates Brutus' last deeds and words, in all which Volumnius' person plainly comes into the foreground, and finally describes the way, in which he killed himself.

Appianus, as might be expected, passes over many of these details, but he alone mentions — without however in the least contradicting Plutarch — the fruitless endeavours made by Brutus to persuade the relatively small band, which had followed him into the mountains, to force their way through the ambushes and to save

his camp, which was not yet taken by the enemy. Plutarch on this subject merely relates that Brutus was satisfied from the intelligence he had received, that his camp had not yet been mastered.

It need not be demonstrated that, in this instance too, a clear and complete idea of what happened can only be realized by combining both statements, which do not disagree in any respect. In Plutarch's account the immediate reason of Brutus' suicide remains unexplained.

As to Brutus' death Appianus only gives Messalla's account (compare Plut. Vit. Brut. c. 52 s. f. and c. 53 in.).

App. c. 131 s. f.

„ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἠπειρώτην ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι· τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλεύεσθαι παραινοῦντος, ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ ὁ Στράτων· οὐκ ἀπορήσεις, εἶπεν, ὦ Βροῦτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται" κ. τ. λ.

After this the writer enters upon some general reflections on the character and the exploits of Brutus and Cassius (c. 132 seqq.) [1]) and then speaks in the same

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[1]) In c. 134 some *prodigia* are enumerated and this in the same order, in which they are found elsewhere in Plutarch (c. 39). It is worth while to consult on this subject Dio Cassius and Julius Obsequens, where we find quite another order and partly too other prodigia. Dio (XLVII c. 40 s. f.) and Obsequens (p. 110 seq.) have borrowed directly from Livy. The former especially will very carefully give the prodigia as he finds them. Where consequently in the according statements of Plutarch and Appianus an order appears, different from Dio's, and almost iden-

terms as Plutarch of the last honours done to Brutus by Antony.

App. c. 135.

„Καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περίεβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ Φοινικίδι εὐθὺς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουϊλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν".

Plut. Brut. c. 53 m. (compare also Vit. Ant. c. 22 s. f.)

„Τὸν δὲ Βροῦτον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν τεθνηκότα τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῇ πολυτελεστάτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Φοινικίδων περιβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ..... τὰ δὲ λείψανα πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Βρούτου Σερβιλίαν ἀπέπεμψεν".

Now if we consider that the resemblance between the accounts of Plutarch and Appianus of what happened at Philippi is in several instances almost literal, that here at least they do not contradict each other anywhere, and that the narrative of the one is only made intelligible by that of the other; if we consider moreover, that the quotations from Volumnius and Messalla found in Plutarch are frequently also recognizable in the same connection in Appianus' description [1]), we can hardly agree with Hermann Peter (Die Qu. des Plut. p. 138) „dass also beide den Messalla und Volumnius vor sich gehabt haben". On the contrary we have every reason to believe that all the above-mentioned quotations from these Roman

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tical terms, the natural conclusion is, that at any rate the common authority, from which these writers have drawn their prodigia, cannot be Livy.

[1]) Compare *e. g.* Plut. Vit. Brut. c. 45 and App. De B. C. IV c. 112, where data are given about the number of the killed.

writers were already found in their common Greek authority.

The inquiry into the sources of Appianus accordingly leads to the following conclusions:

1. The only author, whom Appianus can be proved to have directly followed, is *Polybius*.

2. Appianus *may* have directly followed *Dionysius*, *Livy* and *Sallust*, upon whose works many of his statements are evidently founded. But he may also have drawn his information from them at second hand. Certainty on this point is not to be attained. We may however observe that the former supposition is by no means the more plausible.

3. From the passages in Appianus, where Latin authors, such as *Caesar*, *Tanusius Geminus*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Messalla Corvinus* and *Volumnius* are quoted, it has been erroneously concluded that he must have directly borrowed materials for his work from their writings. From a collation with Plutarch's Lives nearly all these quotations are proved to have already appeared in some source, from which Plutarch and Appianus have both drawn.

4. This source or sources were written in GREEK.

And now it may be very probable that Appianus has sometimes consulted the works of the Latin writers referred to in his authorities; but where abundant information could be collected just as well from Greek sources — and that this was the case is evident from

the great number of passages, where Appianus and Plutarch agree in form as well in contents — the Greek Appianus will no doubt have principally relied upon the testimony of his Greek authorities. What HEEREN indeed has so justly observed about Plutarch is no doubt equally applicable to a man like Appianus.

„Plutarchum, says Heeren (De fontibus et auct. Plut. p. 100), scripta Latina adiisse quidem ac diligenter inspexisse, eo maxime consilio, ut quae illa continerent cum Graecorum traditis conferret, concedimus; non tamen pleno ore ex iis hausisse; nisi forte ubi Graecis fontibus plane sese destitutum videret. Quod adeo plerumque apud scriptores Gallos, ubi de Germanorum rebus disserunt, observamus, si vel qualemcunque linguae nostrae peritiam sibi paraverint, scilicet ut libros germanice conscriptos passim tantum in singulis locis inspiciant, idem de Plutarcho quoque dicendum esse, cum Latinorum scripta evolveret, existimo. Ex Graecorum enim fontibus, siquidem hi suppeterent, hortulos suos eum proprie irrigasse, pro certo habeo".

Of course it will hardly be possible to show which Greek authors Plutarch and Appianus have followed. However as to one of them at least a plausible hypothesis might be suggested.

We know that already long before the times of Plutarch and Appianus there existed Greek historical works, some of them of considerable length, in which Roman History, from the foundation of the City till the reign of Augustus, was more or less amply treated [1]). Of this

[1]) See App. Praef. c. 12.

kind were for instance the *Historiae* of NICOLAUS of Damascus, known to Plutarch (Vit. Brut. c. 53 s. f.) [1]). And of this kind too must have been the *Archaeologia* or *Historia Romana* of king JUBA of Mauritania. It appears from the fragments of this work [2]) that it treated of the origin and earliest history of the City (fr. 4 and 6 Müller), the history of Hannibal (fr. 17), the siege of Numantia (fr. 15) and Sulla's campaign in Greece (fr. 18); and there is every reason to believe that it contained a continuous history of Rome down to his own time. Plutarch and Appianus both expressly refer to Juba as an historian well-known to them [3]) and the former repeatedly loads him with praises [4]).

It is now more than thirty years ago that HULLEMAN published his „Disputatio de vita et scriptis Jubae Maurusii" (Traj. ad Rh. 1845). This research seems not to have attracted the attention of the learned of Germany. At least neither Carl Müller in his Fragm. Histt. Graec. (1849) nor Carl Peter (Ueber die Quellen des 21sten und 22sten Buches des Livius p. 77) mention it, while Hermann Peter, if he had read it, would have

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1) Compare Carl Müller, Fragm. Histt. Graec. T. III p. 313 seqq.

2) Compare Carl Müller, Fragm. Histt. Graec. T. III p. 465 seqq.

3) See Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 55. „Τότε καὶ Ἰόβας, υἱὸς ὢν ἐκείνου, κομιδῇ νήπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἄλοὺς ἅλωσιν ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐνάριθμος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσιν".

App. De B. C. II. c. 101. „ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεὺς, βρέφος ἔτι ὢν παρήγετο.

4) Compare for instance Plut. Vit. Sert. c. 9.

been preserved from his erroneous judgment about Juba (Die Qu. des Plut. p. 76 seq.). Recently LUDWIG KELLER (Der zweite Punische Krieg und seine Quellen, Marburg 1875) has written about Juba at length and with much talent. Even he however does not appear to have been acquainted with Hulleman's dissertation. It may therefore not be void of interest to combine the fruits of Hulleman's researches with those of the German scholars, and to build, if possible, some new conclusions upon the foundations laid by them.

KING JUBA'S HISTORIA ROMANA.

The history of Juba I, king of Numidia [1]), and his voluntary death after the defeat of Pompey's partisans at Thapsus (46 B. C.) is related to us at some length, not only by the author *De Bello Africano* but also by Dio Cassius and Appianus. However concerning his son Juba II, who was even better known as a writer than in his capacity as a sovereign, we must be satisfied

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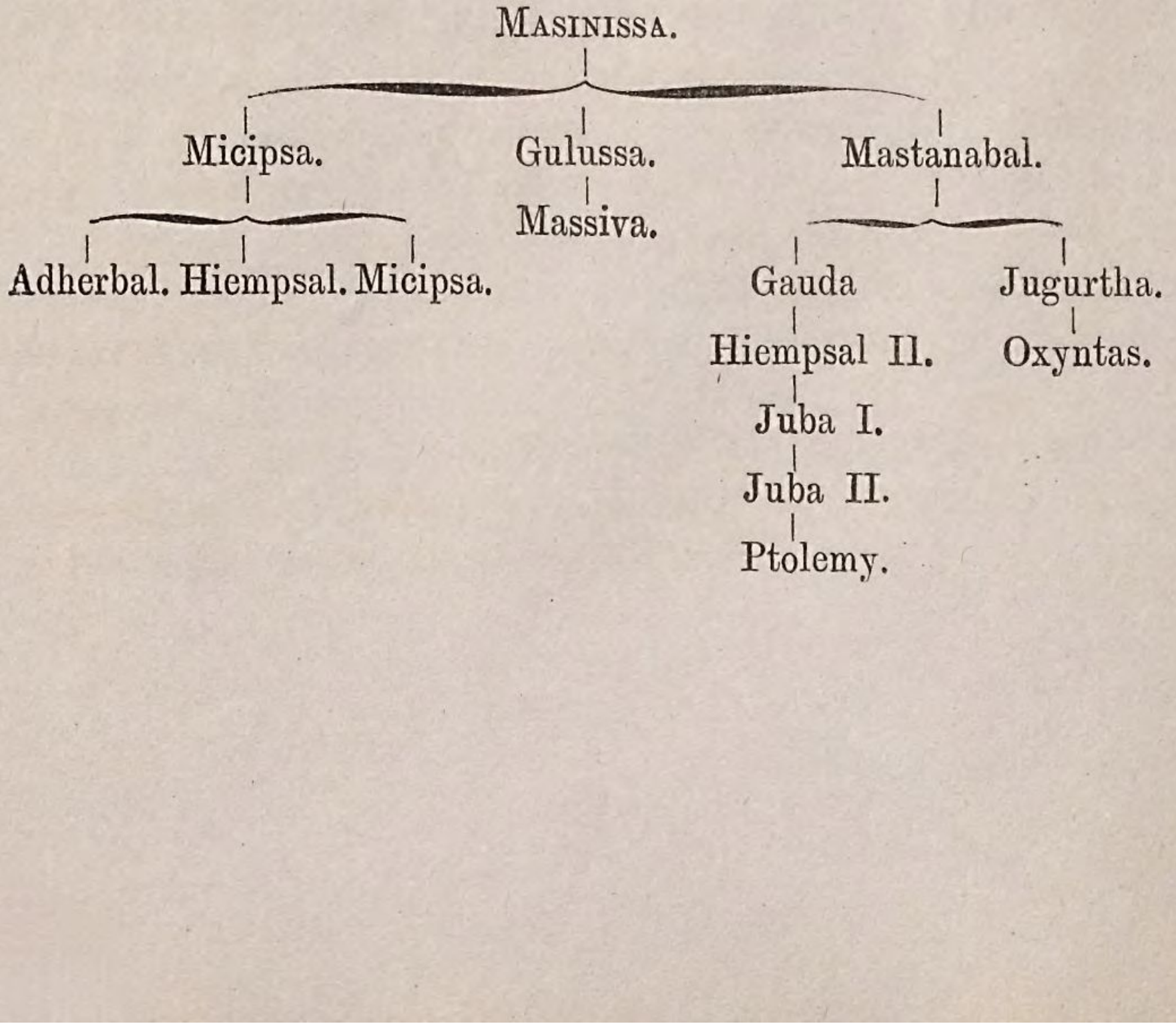
[1]) Juba descended in a direct line from Masinissa, as is shown by the accompanying table (see MOMMSEN's Römische Geschichte II p. 142):



with some few scattered and for the most part extremely vague particulars. Such of them as appear trustworthy are in substance as follows:

When Caesar in 46 B. C. at the conclusion of his glorious campaigns celebrated his victories over Gaul and Egypt, Pharnaces and Juba, — of course the names of the vanquished Romans Pompey and Scipio were not mentioned on this occasion — Juba's son, at that time still a child, was among the most important of the captives, whose presence added lustre to the triumphs of the conqueror [1]).

Protected by Octavian and educated by the best masters at Rome, he fought as a youth under the banners of his benefactor against Antony. After the battle of Actium Augustus reinstated him in his ancestral dominions of Numidia and, thanks doubtless to the influence of Octavia, whose motherly love for all Antony's children never belied itself, he concluded a marriage with a daughter of Antony and Cleopatra: Cleopatra Selene [2]).

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[1]) Compare Plut. Vit. Caes. c. 55 m.

„Ἔπειτα θριάμβους κατῆγε τὸν Αἰγυπτιακόν, τὸν Ποντικόν, τὸν Λιβυκόν, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σκιπίωνος ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Ἰόβα δῆθεν, τοῦ βασιλέως. Τότε καὶ Ἰόβας, υἱὸς ὢν ἐκείνου, κομιδῇ νήπιος, ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη, μακαριωτάτην ἁλοὺς ἅλωσιν, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐνάριθμος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσιν".

App. De B. C. II c. 101.

„Ἐνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὢν ἔτι, παρήγετο".

[2]) Compare D. Cass. LI c. 15 s. f.

„Ἥ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰόβᾳ τῷ τοῦ Ἰόβα παιδὶ συνῴκησεν. τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρα-

It is true that a few years afterwards (in 25 B. C.) [1]) a part of Numidia was annexed to the Roman province of Africa (Africa nova), but Juba obtained in exchange for it the neighbouring Mauritania (the former kingdom of Bocchus and Bogud), and in addition a part of Gaetulia. He thus received from Augustus no inconsiderable compensation for his cession of Numidian territory.

Juba's reign was long and for the most part prosperous [2]).

By his marriage a member of the imperial family, and always retaining the favour of the Emperor, he was even beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom a person of power and influence.

In an inscription having relation to *Carthago nova*,

τευσαμένῳ οἱ, ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκεν".

Plut. Vit. Ant. c. 87 in.

„Καὶ Κλεοπάτραν μὲν τὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβᾳ, τῷ χαριεστάτῳ βασιλέων συνῴκισεν (ὁ Καῖσαρ)".

Suet. Vit. Calig. c. 26.

„Leve ac frigidum sit his addere, quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit Ptolemaeum, regis Iubae filium, consobrinum suum (erat enim et is M. Antonii ex Selene filia nepos)" cet.

The marriage of Juba with Cleopatra Selene has been celebrated by *Crinagoras* (Anth. Gr. IX, 235).

[1]) Compare D. Cass. LIII c. 26 in.

„Καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰόβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτυλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπείπερ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκεν".
(after the subjection of the Cantabri and Astures).

See KIEPERT's Wandkarte des Römischen Reichs.

[2]) About a revolt of the Gaetuli, suppressed by the aid of the Romans, consult D. Cass. LV c. 28.

found on the pedestal of a statue, he is named *duumvir quinquennalis* and *patronus* of that colony [1]).

According to Avienus the same titles were conferred upon him by the town of *Gades* [2]).

These particulars are not without importance, especially as they serve as a proof of the sincerity of the friendship between Augustus and Juba.

The attachment of Carthago nova (*Colonia Victrix Julia Nova Carthago*) and of the populous and wealthy Gades (Augusta Julia Urbs Gaditana) [3]) to Caesar and Augustus is known; and several of the coins of the latter city prove to us that, previously to Juba, Augustus' old friend and son-in-law Agrippa († 12 B. C.) was duumvir and patronus of that town [4]).

The date of Juba's death has not yet been ascertained. But the following facts will serve to indicate it approximatively.

1. Some coins stamped with Juba's image and undoubtedly genuine still exist. On the reverse is indicated, according to Roman custom, the number of years the prince had reigned, when they were struck. The

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[1]) See Corp. Inscr. Rom. II, 3417, and MOMMSEN's Römische Geschichte II p. 159.

[2]) See Av. De Ora maritima v. 270 seqq. („Octaviano princeps amantissimus Et literarum semper in studio Iuba"). Compare UKERT, Geogr. der Gr. und R. p. 473 seqq.

[3]) According to Strabo (III. c. 5.) Gades was inferior in population to Rome alone:

.... πλήθει γε οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν ἀπολείπεσθαι δόξειε τῶν ἔξω Ῥώμης πόλεων ....

[4]) See ECKEL T. IV.

most recent of these coins (preserved in the Louvre) bears the figures: XLVIII [1]). Now as we know that Juba ascended the throne shortly after the battle of Actium, he must have been still living A. D. 18 or 19.

2. No one will dispute that STRABO wrote his *Geographica* after the death of Augustus and during the early part of the reign of Tiberius. At the end of the *sixth* book, where the author gives a brief historical sketch of the gradual extension of the Roman power, the subjection of Germany is mentioned as not yet being completed; yet with a plain reference to the triumph decreed to Germanicus after his recall A. D. 17 [2]). Immediately afterwards Juba is referred to as a reigning prince [3]); while from the concluding sentence of the book it is clear that, at the period this sentence was written, Germanicus still lived [4]). Now, as we find from Tacitus that Germanicus was poisoned by Piso at Antioch in

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[1]) Compare MÜLLER, Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique III p. 113 seqq.

[2]) See Tacit. Ann. II c. 41.

„C. Caecilio L. Pomponio coss. Germanicus Caesar a. d. VII Kal. Iunias triumphavit" cet.

[3]) Compare Strab. VI c. 4.

„Νυνὶ δὲ Γερμανοῖς προσπολεμοῦσιν ἀπὸ τούτων ὁρμώμενοι τῶν τόπων ὡς οἰκειοτάτων, καί τισιν ἤδη θριάμβοις κεκοσμήκασιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὴν πατρίδα. Τῆς δὲ Λιβύης, ὅση μὴ Καρχηδονίων βασιλεῦσιν ἐπετέτραπτο ὑπηκόοις οὖσιν· ἀφιστάμενοι δὲ κατελύοντο. Νυνὶ δ' εἰς Ἰόβαν περιέστηκεν ἥ τε Μαυρουσία καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἄλλης Λιβύης" κ. τ. λ.

[4]) c. 4 f.

.... „οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ Γερμανικός τε καὶ Δροῦσος ὑπουργοῦντες τῷ πατρί."

the year 19 [1]), it appears that Strabo wrote the conclusion of his sixth book between the years 17 and 19, and that at that period Juba was still living.

3. In his *last* book Strabo mentions Juba's death and the succession of his son Ptolemy as occurrences, which had but recently taken place [2]).

Combining with these data a passage of Tacitus [3]), from which it appears that in the year 24 Ptolemy had had the reins of government some time in hand, we are led to the conclusion that the end of Juba's reign must be between the years 18 and 23 [4]).

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[1]) Consult Tacit. Ann. II c. 59 and c. 69 seqq.

[2]) Compare Strab. XVII c. 3 (Mauritania).

„Μικρὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸ ἡμῶν οἱ περὶ Βόγουαν βασιλεῖς καὶ Βόκχον κατεῖχον αὐτὴν φίλοι Ῥωμαίων ὄντες· ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τούτων Ἰόβας παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, δόντος τοῦ Σεβάστου Καίσαρος καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τῇ πατρῴᾳ· υἱὸς δ' ἦν Ἰόβα τοῦ μὲν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν θεὸν πολεμήσαντος μετὰ Σκιπίωνος. Ἰόβας μὲν οὖν νεωστὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον· διαδέδεκται δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖος γεγονὼς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου θυγατρὸς καὶ Κλεοπάτρας".

See also the appendix of L. XVII (De provinciarum divisione).

..... „ἔξω τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰόβᾳ μὲν πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἐκείνου παιδί".

[3]) Compare Tacit. Ann. IV c. 23.

„Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit..... et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui *Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso* libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant".

[4]) The fact that several coins are preserved, with the head of Ptolemy on the one side and that of Augustus on the other, by no means justifies the supposition that Ptolemy mounted the throne before the year 14. The image of a Roman Emperor on foreign coins cannot always be regarded as fixing their date, but

But, as we have already observed, Juba distinguished himself even more as a scholar and writer than as a monarch. „Studiorum claritate memorabilior etiam quam regno fuit" says Pliny major [1]). And how thorough and various these studies were, appears from the fragments of some dozen different works, some of which were doubtless extensive [2]). They embraced history, antiquities, geography, ethnography, botany, zoology and in addition to this he wrote Histories of painting and the drama [3]). Juba must have been a *polyhistor* almost like Pliny himself, whose great admiration for his writings appears not only from the praise, with which he loads him, but most clearly from the fact that in his *Historia Naturalis* he refers to him by name at least forty times and almost always to appeal to his authority. It is only in a very few cases that he disputes him.

Plutarch too never speaks about Juba without the greatest respect. He calls him „a most learned historical writer" and indeed „the greatest historian of all princes" [4]),

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is often only a mark of the homage still paid to the memory of that emperor even long after his decease. This is proved for instance by the number of coins of this kind with J. Caesar's image upon them, struck long after his death.

Consult F. DE SAULCY, in the Mémoires de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie IV and A. VON SALLET, Zeitschrift für Numismatik IV p. 125.

[1]) Compare Plin. Hist. Nat. V c. 1 m.

[2]) See C. MÜLLER's statement in Fragm. Hist. Gr. T. III p. 467.

[3]) See Iub. Maur. Fragm. p. 469 seqq. Müller and MEINEKE, Hist. Com. Graec. p. 15.

[4]) Compare Plut. Vit. Sert. c. 9.

„Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνακείσθω τῇ Ἰόβα χάριτι τοῦ πάντων ἱστορικωτάτου βασιλέων".

often quotes him, as well in the *Lives* as in the *Moralia*, and has frequently made a copious use of his works. He was led to do this the more readily as they were written in Greek [1]), for, as he himself declares, he was but imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language, because during his stay in Rome he had found no time to study it. It was only at a much later period of his life and after his return to his birthplace, Chaeronea, that he began to do so. And indeed he openly confesses, not so much to have obtained his knowledge of Roman history directly from Roman authors, as to have contrived to follow their statements by the assistance of the general knowledge of the facts which he already possessed. Their literary merits he declares himself entirely incapable of judging [2]).

In addition to this favourable testimony from such men as Pliny and Plutarch [3]), two facts have been handed down to us, which must not be overlooked in judging of the respect and esteem, which was everywhere paid to Juba even long after his death.

Pausanias, a contemporary of Hadrian and the Antonini [4]), relates that in the gymnasium of Ptolemy, situ-

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[1]) Plut. Comp. Pelop. cum Marc. c. 1, 5.
„ἡμεῖς δὲ Λιβίῳ, Καίσαρι, Νέπωτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰόβᾳ πιστεύομεν".

[2]) Plut. Vit. Dem. c. 2.

[3]) Compare also Athen. III p. 83 B.

[4]) See Paus. I c. 17.
„Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολύ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθου τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὅ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κεῖται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς".

ated close to the Theseum at Athens, he saw, in addition to the bronze statue of the founder, the statues of Juba the Libyan and of Chrysippus, the various and learned writer and illustrious pillar of the Stoa [1]). If now we find Juba thus figuring as the companion of Chrysippus, and that too in Athens, more than a century after his death, when the lustre of his royal name was already long dimmed by time, and certainly was unable to gild the obscurity of the author, we cannot doubt that he must have been an illustrious writer and a man of more than ordinary learning.

But not only in Athens, even in the birthplace of Cleopatra Selene, in Alexandria, the seat of learning *par excellence*, were his works highly esteemed. *Suidas* [2]) relates — and there is in this case no reasonable ground for distrusting him — that the Alexandrian Didymus, without doubt the greatest critic of his age, „wrote very much against Juba"; that is to say in other words that Didymus subjected Juba's writings to his clear-sighted criticism and combated at length whatever appeared to him inaccurate or untrue. The question then naturally rises whether such a man as Didymus would have considered it worth his while repeatedly to attack a very ordinary and common-place writer.

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[1]) The number of his works was according to tradition not less than *seven-hundred!*

[2]) Suidas in voce Ἰόβας:

„συνήκμαζε δ' αὐτῷ Δίδυμος ὁ χαλκέντερος ὁ καὶ πολλὰ γράψας κατ' αὐτοῦ".

And yet the African prince has recently been by many regarded as such.

If we examine on what rests this unfavourable judgment on the part of well-known modern authors, a judgment, which is in direct opposition to that of the Ancients, we find that it is grounded exclusively on the *fragments*. And indeed these scanty fragments consist principally of absurd derivations and all sorts of wonderful statements about plants and animals, but we seek among them in vain for matters of more value, as for example historical particulars of any importance. A *Historia* or *Archaeologia Romana* is not even named except by one writer of the fifth century: *Stephanus* of Byzantium [1]) and by him only in two places. And what is still more striking: *we find everything that Stephanus quotes as derived from Juba, word for word in the Historia or Archaeologia of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* [2]). Considering these strange

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[1]) See fr. 1 and 3 Müller.

[2]) Compare fr. 1 and 3 with Dion. Halic. I c. 9.

fr. 1.

„Ἀβοριγῖνες, ἔθος Ἰταλικόν, ὡς Ἰόβας ἐν Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας πρώτῃ· „Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀβοριγίνην (L. Ἀβοριγίνων ὀνομασίαν) διέσωζον, Λατίνου δὲ βασιλέυσαντος οὕτω προσηγορεύθησαν".

Dion.

„Μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἀβοριγίνων ὀνομασίαν ἔτι σώζοντες· ἐπὶ δὲ Λατίνου βασιλέως, ὃς κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐδυνάστευσε, Λατῖνοι ἀρξάμενοι καλεῖσθαι".

fr. 3.

„Ὠστία, πόλις Ἰταλίας. Ἰόβας ἐν πρώτῃ Ῥ. Ἰ· Ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ Τίβερις Ὠστίας πόλεως πλησίον ἐκδιδούς".

circumstances we shall not find it difficult to conceive how even such a *savant* as Hermann Peter formed the supposition that either Stephanus himself, or Hermolaus, who compiled the slovenly abstract of Stephanus, which we still possess, must have been deceived in ascribing to Juba what was evidently borrowed from Dionysius [1]). Neither need we wonder too that a step farther has been taken in the same direction, and the whole tradition concerning a Roman History by Juba rejected as unsupported by any reliable authority [2]).

More careful inquiry however leads to other conclusions. More than once we find statements, which Plutarch expressly declares that he read in Juba, also almost literally the same in Dionysius. And in other places, though the resemblance in form is less striking, the close connection is quite as unmistakeable. Even with respect to an assertion on a subject, about wich no certainty could ever have existed, namely the number of the Sabine maidens who were carried off (six hundred and eighty three), Dionysius and Juba entirely agree [3]).

Dion.

„ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν βορείων μερῶν ὁ Τίβερις Ὥστίας πόλεως πλησίον ἐκδιδούς."

[1]) Compare for instance H. KLAPP, De Vitt. Plutarchearum Auctt. Rom., Bonn 1862 p. 3 seqq.

[2]) See H. PETER, Die Qu. des Plut. p. 76.

[3]) Compare fr. 4 (Plut. Vit. Rom. c. 14 s. f.) with Dion. II c. 30 s. f.

Plut.

„Ἁρπασθῆναι δέ φασιν οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα μόνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰς φρατρίας ὀνομασθῆναι· Οὐαλέριος δὲ Ἀντίας ἑπτὰ καὶ

Considering these facts we cannot hesitate to believe that a work of Juba's about Roman History really existed [1]); and what is more natural than that Juba was well acquainted with and made much use of the Archaelogia of Dionysius in composing it? One question however can here arise. Juba and Dionysius were contemporaries. Is not the supposition that Dionysius followed Juba as probable as the contrary one? Hulleman at least appears to think so [2]). While however the information, which Dionysius gives us with respect to the sources of his work, and which appears to be perfectly trustworthy, clearly indicates an independent and careful study of his old Roman authorities [3]), the remains on the other hand of Juba's writings, where they agree with Dionysius', bear unmistakeable signs of not being original [4]).

εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίας, Ἰόβας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίας παρθένους".

Dion.

„καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διαριθμήσας τὰς κόρας, ἑξακοσίας τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς εὑρεθείσας" κ. τ. λ.

[1]) Compare especially fr. 18 (Plut. Vit. Sull. c. 16, 10), which is purely historical.

[2]) See HULLEMAN, De Vita et Scriptis Iubae p. 23.

[3]) See Dion. I c. 7.

[4]) Compare fr. 14 (Plut. Quaestt. RR. 78) with Dion. II c. 5.

Plut.

„Διὰ τί τῶν οἰωνῶν ὁ καλούμενος ἀριστερὸς αἴσιος; ..... ἢ μᾶλλον, ὡς Ἰόβας φησί, τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἀποβλέπουσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ γίγνεται τὸ βόρειον";

Dion.

.... „τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέπουσιν ἀριστερὰ μὲν γίγνεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέφοντα μέρη" κ. τ. λ.

We have already incidently referred to Juba's etymological remarks, more numerous than successful. Plutarch alluding to this mentions the king's great fondness for deriving Latin words from Greek ones, while he modestly hints his doubts of the accuracy of Juba's guesses [1]). If now we find a direct quotation from Juba, in which we read the very words of Dionysius interwoven with a Greek-Latin derivation, which does not occur in Dionysius — and this is really the case [2]) —

Caput 78 of the Q. R. is therefore too very interesting, because Plutarch quotes here Dionysius as well as Juba, and we read the same words, which he borrowed from Juba's work, in Dionysius' Archaeologia also ..... „ἢ καθάπερ Διονύσιός φησιν, Ἀσκανίῳ τῷ Αἰνείου" κ. τ. λ. Compare Dion. II c. 5.

[1]) See fr. 5 (Plut. Vit. Rom. c. 15):

„Τὸν Ταλάσιον, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ἀπάδουσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς γάμοις .... οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι νομίζουσιν, ὧν καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐστί, παράκλησιν εἶναι καὶ παρακέλευσιν εἰς φιλεργίαν καὶ ταλασίαν, οὕπω τότε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπικεχυμένων".

and fr. 8 s. f. (Plut. Vit. Num. c. 13):

„Ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Ἰόβας εἴρηκε γλιχόμενος ἐξελληνίσαι τοὔνομα".

Compare also Plut. Vit. Num. c. 7 s. f.

[2]) Compare Dion. II c. 22 with Plut. Vit. Num. c. 7.

Dion.

„Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ γυναικῶν ἔδει τινὰ ἕτερα ἱερὰ τελεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ παίδων ἀμφιθαλῶν ἕτερα" κ. τ. λ.

.... „ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπηρέτουν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι νῦν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων Κάμιλλοι".

Plut. Numa 7

„Καὶ γὰρ ἃς ἐφόρουν οἱ βασιλεῖς λαίνας ὁ Ἰόβας χλαίνας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα λέγεσθαι Κάμιλλον. ὡς καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν οὕτως ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τῆς διακονίας προσηγόρευον".

we can safely look upon it as proved that Juba consulted Dionysius and not Dionysius Juba.

And indeed how soon after its appearance Dionysius' Archaeologia was generally known and consulted can be seen in the work of an other of his contemporaries: Nicolaus of Damascus, the flattering friend of Herod and Augustus, who copied whole chapters from it word for word [1]).

If now we have, as we believe, sufficiently illustrated what use was made by the Numidian king of Dionysius' *Historia Romana*, if we recollect his evident predilection for tracing derivations, and if in addition we take into account the fact that Juba's great admiror Plutarch but seldom indicates his authorities, we shall while reading the latter (especially in the Αἴτια Ῥωμαϊκά) easily discover no inconsiderable number of passages partly of historical, partly of antiquarian nature, which clearly be-

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[1]) Compare C. MÜLLER, Histt. Gr. Fr. Nic. Damasc. 69 and 70 with Dion. I c. 82 seqq. and II c. 32 seqq.

A remarkable instance of missapplied ingenuity is the hypothesis of KORAES, who just as, blinded by exagerated patriotism, he not seldom elsewhere defends what is absolutely indefensible, so too here believes he can deprive the accusation of plagiarism brought against Nicolaus of all weight, because some epitomist of later times may by mistake have attributed these excerpts from Dionysius to Nicolaus. As if it could be reasonably denied that he has patched up his work from different authors of earlier and later times! As if we did not find among the fragments of Nicolaus pieces from *Ctesias*, which he has not even given himself the trouble entirely to translate from the Ionic dialect into the ordinary Greek of his time! And we may consider ourselves fortunate if he even copies literally; for he very often by his foolish alterations and additions changes the clear language of Xenophon and others into pure nonsense (see COBET N. L. p. 713 and p. 732).

tray their origin from Juba's works. And in the same way, where we find in Plutarch excerpts from other authors, *e. g.* from Varro or Livy, presented in a similar form to those from Dionysius, namely adorned with all sorts of specimens of etymological wisdom, it needs no argument to show that the hypothesis that Juba served as an intermediary, possesses a great degree of probability. Completely satisfactory proof however concerning each passage in particular could scarcely be found. For Plutarch himself, like almost all ancient writers, even the most learned, intelligent and clear-sighted, trusting simply to sounds, not seldom allows himself to be led into the most absurd etymology. Leaving this question undecided then, we will be contented to establish in general:

1. that historical as well as antiquarian statements were borrowed by Juba from Dionysius and by Plutarch from Juba.

2. that the arguments of Hermann Peter against the general belief that a Roman History by Juba really existed are unsatisfactory, and that this belief is quite able to support the test of criticism.

Moreover we may conclude with certainty from the fragments of Juba's works still remaining that he usually borrowed his data from the best authorities.

In his History of *Assyria* for example he followed BEROSUS [1]); in his work about *Arabia*, among other wri-

[1]) See fr. 21 and consult RICHTER, Berosi Chaldaeorum Historiae quae supersunt, Leipzig 1825.

tings the *Paraplus* of NEARCHUS [1]); for his description of *Libya*, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, he consulted „*Punic books*" [2]), perhaps HANNO's *Periplus*, but doubtless the work of his grand-father HIEMPSAL II, from which, as is known, Sallust during his proconsulate had the history of Africa and Numidia interpreted to him [3]).

In conclusion his kwowledge of the most ancient period of Roman History was, as we have seen, wholly or in part taken from *Dionysius*.

To assist us in fixing the length of the period treated of in Juba's Historia Romana we find in the fragments four indications:

1. The work began with the beginning: the *Aborigines*, the *landing of Aeneas* and the *foundation of the City* (fr. 1—6).

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[1]) See fr. 39. Compare SINTENIS, Proll. ad Arrianum.

[2]) Compare Amm. Marc. XXII, 15:
„rex autem Iuba, *Punicorum* confisus textu *librorum*".

[3]) Compare Sall. De B. Iug. c. 17.
We have no reason to understand the expression „Libri Punici", employed by Sallust as well as by Ammianus Marcellinus, as if here documents exclusively or principally relating to Carthage must be meant. By „Libri Punici" are more probably signified: books *written in the Phoenician language*. Concerning the very extensive use of this language, even in much earlier times, consult the interesting remarks of MOMMSEN (Röm. Gesch. I p. 496 seq.):
„Die phönikische Civilisation herrschte in Libyen, ähnlich wie in Klein-Asien und Syrien die Griechische nach den Zügen Alexanders. An den Höfen der Nomadenscheiks ward phönikisch gesprochen und geschrieben, und die civilisirteren einheimischen Stämme nahmen für ihre Sprache das phönikische Alphabet an".

2. The *second Punic war* was also referred to (fr. 17 about Marcellus).

3. In fr. 5 *Numantia* is mentioned.

4. Fr. 18 treats of the time of *Sulla* (Sulla's victory over Archelaus in 85 B. C.).

That Juba also treated of the more recent period, extending to the reign of Augustus, cannot be proved from the fragments. But considering who the writer was, his marriage with Cleopatra Selene and his relations with Augustus, we need scarcely say that nothing can be more probable.

We will now examine more closely a few fragments of the *Historia Romana.*

Fr. 17 (Plut. Comp. Pelop. cum Marc. c. 1 m.) is very clearly commented upon by HEEREN [1]), and also rightly judged of by HULLEMAN [2]).

The contents of this fragment are purely historical.

„Ἀννίβαν δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς μὲν οἱ περὶ Πολύβιον λέγουσιν, οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐνίκησεν ἀλλ' ἀήττητος ὁ ἀνὴρ δοκεῖ διαγενέσθαι μέχρι Σκιπίωνος, ἡμεῖς δὲ Λιβίῳ, Καίσαρι, Νέπωτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰόβᾳ πιστεύομεν ἥττας τινὰς καὶ τροπὰς ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου τῶν σὺν Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι, μεγάλην δ' αὖται

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[1]) De fontt. et auct. Plut. p. 124.

[2]) De vita et scriptis Iubae p. 17: „Vel fallor equidem vel notanda est haec hominis Afri de Afro scribentis candida narratio".

ῥοπὴν οὐδεμίαν ἐποίησαν ἀλλ' ἔοικε ψευδόπτωμά τε γενέσθαι περὶ τὸν Λίβυν ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ἐκείναις".

On reading this one naturally asks how it is that the name of *Augustus* here figures among the Roman writers on the period of Marcellus. Must we conclude from this fragment that Augustus wrote not only Commentaries on his own life, Orations and Letters, but also a work on the Punic wars [1])?

Heeren here very suitably reminds us that, when the last honours were shown to his youthful son-in-law M. Claudius Marcellus, Augustus himself pronounced the funeral oration [2]). It cannot be doubted that the glories of Marcellus' great namesake would be celebrated on this occasion. „Πλὴν ὅ γε λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάπτεσθαι μέλλοντος, says Polybius [3]), who has described the Roman funeral ceremonies more clearly than any other author, ἐπεὰν διέλθῃ τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον, ἄρχεται τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ τοῦ προγενεστάτου τῶν παρόντων καὶ λέγει τὰς ἐπιτυχίας ἑκάστου καὶ τὰς πράξεις".

That however Augustus' oration was, as Heeren considers certain [4]), made public, and studied by Plutarch, is as improbable as that he in his biographies of Cato censorius and Cato Uticensis should have made use of the *laudationes* of the gens Porcia, or in his description

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[1]) See also Vit. Marc. c. 30 m.
„Λίβιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς κομισθῆναι τὴν ὑδρίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰρήκασι καὶ ταφῆναι λαμπρῶς".

[2]) Compare D. Cass. LIII c. 30 and Virg. Aen. VI v. 855 seqq.

[3]) Polyb. VI c. 53 seq.

[4]) „Quam (laudationem) in publicum editam ante oculos habuisse Plutarchum *dubitari nequit*".

of the Gracchi should have borrowed anything directly from the Letters of Cornelia. Hermann Peter too seems to have perceived this; at least we have from him the reasonable hypothesis: „dass vielleicht anzunehmen ist dass Plutarch, so wohl an dieser Stelle wie auch an der vorher behandelten (Vit. Marc. c. 30), *seine Citate dem* Juba verdankt" [1]).

And indeed that Juba, who lived on so friendly a footing with the Emperor, might have been perfectly well acquainted with the contents of his funeral oration [2]) needs as little further proof as that he, more than an other, would have been inclined to attach great importance to Augustus' words. Neither can we be considered as hasarding too much in forming the supposition that for his description of the Punic wars he also borrowed from *Livy*, if we bear in mind the statement of Plutarch [3]) that Livy, Augustus and Juba entirely

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[1]) Compare Die Qu. des Plut. p. 76.

[2]) By one of Pliny's quotations from Juba (fr. 27 Müller) we learn that his physician *Euphorbus* was a brother of *Antonius Musa*, the physician of Augustus and Marcellus, well-known to every reader of Horace (See D. Cass. LIII c. 30):

„Frater is fuit Musae, a quo Divum Augustum conservatum indicavimus. Iidem fratres instituere a balneis frigida multa corpora adstringere" Compare Suet. Oct. c. 59 and c. 81.

Is it not a natural consequence of these family-connections that everything relating to Marcellus' sickness and death, even to the smallest details, should be spoken of at the court of Juba?

[3]) It is true that Plutarch's quotation from Liv. XXVIII c. 28 is extremely inexact; but we stand in no need of examples of his excessive carelessness in referring to his authorities. The quotation from *Valerius Maximus* immediately preceding (Val. Max. V c. 1, 6) suffers from the same defect.

agreed concerning these two, for the Roman historiography very important questions: *how did Hannibal treat the body of Marcellus* and *was he ever defeated by any Roman general before Scipio* [1])? At any rate it need cause no astonishment if Juba in his description of events, which happened more than two centuries previously, chiefly followed the most extensive and most read of all Roman historians. The question is, if the Numidian king confined himself entirely to the authorities generally known in Italy, or whether especially in treating of a period, during which the history of Rome is intimately connected with that of Africa, and in which his great ancestor Masinissa fought as Scipio's ally against Carthage, he did not in addition consult independent *Punic* or *Numidian* documents?

We may here call attention to some of LUDWIG KELLER's investigations, which throw a clear light upon the matter.

These investigations consist partly of inquiries into the sources of the historians, who have described the events leading to the conclusion of the second Punic war *i. e.* Scipio's campaign in Africa.

The history of the years 204—201 B. C. is treated of by *Livy* in the last two books of the *third* decade; by *Polybius* in the extensive fragments of his 14th and 15th books; by *Appianus* in the 8th book (De Rebus Pu-

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[1]) *Cornelius Nepos* a. o. according to Plutarch has in the former and *Polybius* in the latter of these questions followed entirely other authorities.

nicis); by *Dio Cassius* in the fr. Peyr. LVII seqq.; and by *Zonaras*, who has made an extract of Dio, in his 9th book [1]).

Between the statements of Livy and those of Polybius there is a close connection; that is to say: they complete each other. NISSEN has therefore rightly supposed that the agreement between the two writers is here to be explained by their use of the same authorities [2]), and FRIEDERSDORFF [3]) has brought a number of convincing arguments to the support of this opinion.

In the first chapters of Appianus a striking agreement with *Livy* is to be observed. The chapters 7 and 8. *e. g.* are nothing else than a somewhat careless excerpt of what is related at length by Livy in the last chapters of the 28th and the first of the 29th book, concerning Scipio's preparations for the African campaign. Further on in his narrative however so striking a resemblance is far from being observable. Much too of what he says is in flagrant opposition to *Polybius'* statements.

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[1]) The few scanty fragments of *Diodorus Siculus* (XXVII fr. 4 seqq.) have no value.

[2]) Ueber die Qu. der 4ten und 5ten Dec. des Liv. p. 85:

„Die Uebereinstimmung (between Polybius and Livy) muss bei dem Spanischen und Afrikanischen Feldzug Scipio's auf Gemeinsamkeit der Quellen zurückgeführt werden".

And the most recent researches concerning Polybius' relation to Livy have shown that there is much of truth in the words of NIEBUHR referred to by Nissen:

„Livius richtete erst als er sich der Zeit näherte, wo er von Philipp von Makedoniën zu sprechen hatte, seine Aufmerksamkeit auf Polybius".

[3]) Livius et Polybius, Scipionis rerum scriptores, Göttingen 1869.

In treating the matter in question a careful examination of the nature of the points of difference between Polybius and Appianus is of the highest importance. That this has been omitted is a decided flaw in Keller's demonstration. For should it appear that the variations in their narrative are simply to be regarded as a consequence of Appianus' well-known carelessness and haste, we may fairly ask, whether all that we find related by Appianus about the Carthaginians and the Numidians, about Syphax, Masinissa etc. might not very well have been borrowed from the lost part of Polybius. At any rate the latter, as he himself states [1]), was personally acquainted with Masinissa; and the work of Hannibal's biographer *Silenus* was one of his principal authorities. He is moreover, as is proved by Nissen, from the end of the *second* to that of the *third* Punic war, Appianus' only authority.

If however on the other hand we find, on comparing the conflicting passages with each other, that the statements of Appianus cannot possibly be based upon Polybius, but on the contrary are entirely independent of him, it would be absurd to advance concerning the *lost* chapters the opposite of what can be proved respecting the *existing* fragments.

To show the nature of the differences between Appianus and Polybius in its true light, it will, it appears to me, be sufficient to compare two passages of Appianus with the two corresponding one's of Polybius.

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[1]) See Polyb. IX. c. 25.

I. Referring to the disposition of the Roman army at the battle of *Zama* Polybius says that Scipio placed the Roman *equites* under the command of Laelius on the *left wing*.

Pol. XV. c. 9:

„ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε κατὰ μὲν τὸ λαιὸν Γάϊον Λαίλιον ἔχοντα τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς ἱππέας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος Μασσανάσσην μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τατ-τομένων Νομάδων".

Just so too Livy (XXXC. 33.)

Quite different however are the statements of Appianus (c. 41 s. f.). The reader may judge for himself:

„τοὺς δ' ἱππέας, τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κέρασιν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδμὴν φέρειν, τοὺς δ' Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἑτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείνειαν οἱ πεζοί".

And that Appianus' narrative is not drawn from his imagination appears from the minute particulars, which he immediately subjoins:

„παρ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπηρέτης ἦν, πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Ὀκταβίῳ".

See also c. 44.

Is it not then impossible to call Appianus' narrative a paraphrase of the text of Polybius? And is it not as unlikely that Appianus, on his own authority and in opposition to his sources, should have removed Laelius and the Roman equites from so much more honourable a

position, to the rear of the army, as it is probable that here again, as so often, the pride of the Romans has perverted the facts to their own advantage?

II. Hannibal's flight after his defeat at *Zama* is by Polybius (XV c. 15 = Liv. XXX c. 35) briefly related as follows:

„Ἀννίβας δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ποιούμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς Ἀδρύμητα ἐσώθη."

Appianus (c. 47) gives a more circumstantial account:

„Ἀννίβας δὲ .... ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἅπαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀεί τε πλησιάζων καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι· τὸν δὲ νὺξ ἐρρύσατο· καὶ σκότιος μετ' εἴκοσι ἱππέων τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ᾗ ὄνομα Θὼν, ἔνθα Βρυττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων, ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρυττίων, ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὧν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱππέως ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευε· σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις ἧκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρύμητον" κ. τ. λ.

It will readily be admitted that this simple and probable narrative, which appears in no other writer, must have been borrowed by Appianus from a source, in which the African campaign was treated much more at length than by Polybius.

Polybius therefore cannot possibly have been here Appianus' authority.

Moreover there are several other indications that the source from which Appianus drew his information, gave in many respects a more accurate account of the events than Polybius and Livy.

The name of Θὼν for instance, mentioned in the passage just quoted, is nowhere else referred to. And indeed, as SCHWEIGHÄUSER has rightly remarked [1]), we find in Appianus' narrative a number of names of places not introduced by other authors. Keller gives as examples: Θολοῦς (c. 18), Ἄνδα (c. 24 compare Pol. XIV c. 5), Νάρκη (c. 33), Πάρθος (c. 39), Κίλλα (c. 40), Μαρθαμὰ (c. 55) etc.

The same remark applies to persons. In c. 33 for instance is mentioned a certain δυνάστης τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν and a certain δυνάστης Μεσότυλος. In c. 41 Δακάμας, in c. 43 Μασσάτης etc.

So too there are a number of particulars concerning distances, the strength of the armies, the number of killed, wounded and prisoners in the different battles, which are to be found only in Appianus [2]). We read a striking illustration of this in c. 9:

„As soon as the Carthaginians heard of Scipio's intention of landing, they sent Hasdrubal, Gisco's son, out elephant-hunting, and they despatched to Mago, who was at the time occupied in enlisting mercenaries in Li-

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[1]) See also CARL PETER, Ueber die Qu. des 21sten und 22sten Buches des Livius p. 77.

[2]) Compare KELLER p, 14.

guria, 6000 *foot*, 800 *horse* and 7 *elephants*, with orders to invade Etruria with as many troops as he could collect, in order to divert Scipio's attention from Africa. Hasdrubal, after having returned from hunting, assembled an army of 1200 *foot*, consisting in about equal proportions of Carthaginians and Lybians, and 600 *horse*. He bought moreover 5000 *slaves* to serve as rowers on board the fleet. In addition he obtained from the Numidians a reinforcement of 2000 *cavalry* and collected mercenaries from all parts. He united all these forces at a distance of 200 *stadia* from Carthage, to train and discipline them."

Of all this Livy does not say a single word.

If the reader desires other examples he may compare for instance c. 23 seqq.

Now it strikes us at once that almost all the statements, which are wanting in other writers, have relation to *Carthaginians* and *Numidians*. Keller has pointed out that to *thirty-four* statements concerning the Carthaginian army we have only to oppose *twelve*, which relate to that of Rome. How, we may ask, is this to be satisfactorily accounted for? Alone of course by supposing that Appianus' authority was himself an *African*, or at least borrowed his facts from *African* sources.

And indeed the whole manner and tone of his narrative show that the author did not, like Livy and Polybius, view matters from a Roman stand-point. Just as in the latter [1]) Scipio and the Romans are continually

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[1]) The remark of Mr. ARNOLD (Rom. Hist. III p. 449) is very just: *„wherever the family of Scipio is concerned the impartiality of Polybius becomes doubtful"*.

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brought into the foreground, so in Appianus this is the case with their opponents and the Numidians.

To such events for example as Scipio's passage to Africa, of which Livy gives a detailed narration in three long chapters [1]), Appianus only devotes a few sentences, and of the debates in Rome concerning the African campaign, and of the steps taken in consequence, we find in him next to nothing.

One might be disposed to attribute this to the simple fact that Livy's History as a whole is on a much more extensive scale than that of Appianus. But it is just when we reflect how much more concise the narrative of Appianus is, that we are most struck with the disproportionately large space devoted to such events as the conflict of political parties at Carthage and the deeds and fortunes of *Hasdrubal* (cc. 9—36), of *Hannibal* (cc. 33—47) and above all of MASINISSA.

Unquestionably Masinissa and not Scipio plays the principal role, as appears for instance in the frequency, with which his name [2]) occurs in Appianus, and the number of details concerning his person and family, which this author mentions (see c. 14 and c. 17 *e. g.*), and which are not even alluded to in the most distant manner by Polybius and Livy.

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[1]) Compare Liv. XXIX cc. 25—28 with App. VIII c. 8.

[2]) KELLER has pointed out that the narrative of Livy is *six times* as extensive as that of Appianus. The omission of details relating to Masinissa cannot therefore be attributed to the writer's aiming at conciseness. And yet only a *twentieth* part of Livy's narrative refers to Masinissa, while Appianus devotes to him at least *the half*.

Very often indeed his manner of treating the events shows but too plainly his partiality for Masinissa, whose praises are sometimes celebrated evidently at the expense of truth.

According to Appianus (c. 14) it was Masinissa, who captured Hanno, a son of Hamilcar, with his own hand:

„Μασσανάσσης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπήντα τῷ Ἄννωνι κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς φίλος, ἐπανιών· καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ".

On the contrary Livy (XXX c. 34) states that Hanno was slain in the battle:

„Mille fere, qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus haud facilis receptus fuit, *cum ipso duce Hannone interclusi atque interfecti sunt*".

According to Appianus (c. 22) Masinissa made himself master of the camp of Syphax entirely without assistance, while from Polybius (XIV c. 4) it appears that much of the glory of this exploit belongs to *Laelius*.

According to c. 26 Masinissa and his Numidians contributed much to Syphax's defeat, and the latter, with one of his two sons, was captured by Masinissa in person and delivered up to Scipio.

Quite different is the story as related by Livy (XXX c. 11 seq.). From him we learn that the Numidian cavalry continually retreated before Syphax, until the Roman infantry succeeded in checking the enemy.

„Ita tum a paucis proelio accenso omnem utrimque postremo equitatum certaminis studium effundit ac, dum sincerum equestre proelium erat, multitudo Massaeliorum,

ingentia agmina Syphace emittente, sustineri vix poterat. Deinde ut pedes Romanus" cet.

And concerning the capture of Syphax he says:

„Ibi Syphax .... equo graviter icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et *vivus*, laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus spectaculum, *ad Laelium pertrahitur*".

Thus, while we are compelled by unmistakeable evidence to conclude that Appianus' authority could not possibly have been a Roman, but must have dwelt in Africa, we are morover precluded by his obvious partiality for king Masinissa and his people from supposing that the materials of the work were borrowed from a Carthaginian, or one of their partizans as for instance *Silenus* or *Philinus*.

Carl Peter l. l. has thrown a light upon this subject by calling attention to a place in Appianus' book *De Bello Hannibalico* (c. 13), from which it is easy to see that his authority for the period of the second Punic war must have been a *contemporary of Augustus* and moreover *personally acquainted with him*. It treats of Fabius Maximus' well-known policy never to give battle if it could possibly be avoided:

„Ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην".

The writer adds the following words, justly regarded by Peter as a flattering homage paid to Augustus by one of his contemporaries:

„Οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὢν εὐχερὴς οὐδ' οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι".

And now we may ask: what is more likely than that JUBA, the „πάντων ἱστορικώτατος βασιλέων", the direct descendent of Masinissa, who had at his disposition the writings of his grand-father Hiempsal, and of course many other special sources of information in addition, was followed by Appianus? The probability becomes still more striking when we remember that Appianus was an Alexandrian by birth, and being procurator of Egypt wrote his Histories at Alexandria, where the works of Cleopatra's royal son-in-law, as we have already mentioned (p. 80), were in great repute [1]).

As to Zonaras' *i. e.* Dio Cassius' description of the African campaign, NISSEN [2]) has very justly remarked that it partakes of the character of Livy's narrative and at the same time of that of Appianus'. It is therefore a very natural hypothesis that Dio, who expressly declares that he had read pretty nearly all that had been written about the Romans [3]), combined Juba's statements with those of Polybius and Livy.

The passage in Plutarch's Life of *Sulla* in which Juba is quoted (c. 16 s. f. = fr. 18 Müller: „ὁ δὲ

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[1]) See KELLER p. 20.

[2]) De pace a. 201 Carthaginiensibus data, Marburg 1870.

[3]) See fr. 1 and 2 and consult CARL PETER, Zur Kritik der Qu. der älteren R. Geschichte, Halle 1879, p. 7 and p. 138.

Ἰόβας οὐ Γαβίνιόν φησι πεμφθῆναι ἀλλ' Ἐρίκιον) relates to *Chaeronea*, Plutarch's birthplace and the town where in his declining years he wrote his Lives. A mistake on Plutarch's part is therefore in this case highly improbable. Now, though we may readily grant that much of what Plutarch has written about Sulla and his times was originally derived from Sulla's own Latin [1]) *Commentarii rerum gestarum*, there are many reasons for doubting that Plutarch himself collected his information directly from Sulla. We are inclined on the contrary to believe that here as in so many other cases a *fons derivatus* has served him as the basis of his narrative. Concerning JUBA another passage in the Life of Sulla can be pointed out, from which in my opinion may be concluded that he was not consulted for c. 16 alone. In the following chapter (c. 17 m.) we read as follows:

„αὐτὸς δὲ (ὁ Σ)... ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν ἀναλήψομενός τε τὴν αὐτόθι στρατιὰν καὶ κατοψόμενος τὸ καλούμενον Θούριον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκατειλημμένον. Ἔστι δὲ κορυφὴ τραχεῖα, καὶ στρωβιλῶδες ὄρος, ὃ καλοῦμεν Ὀρθόπαγον. Ὑπὸ δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ Μωρίου καὶ Θουρίου νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος. Ὠνόμασται δ' ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Θουροῦς, τῆς Χαίρωνος μητρός, ὃν οἰκιστὴν γεγονέναι τῆς Χαιρωνείας ἱστοροῦσιν. Οἱ δέ φασι τὴν Κάδμῳ δοθεῖσαν

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[1]) HEEREN (p. 151) believes that Sulla's Commentaries were written in Greek. „Commentarios suos, says he, quos Lucullo dedicarat, scripsit Graece; *quo ipso maxime Plutarcho facilis aditus ad eos patebat*". But Hermann Peter (Vett. Histt. Rom. Rell. p. CCLXXVIII) has from the quotations of Gellius and Priscian clearly shown that Sulla used his mother tongue.

ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου καθηγεμόνα βοῦν ἐκεῖ φανῆναι καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὕτω προσαγορευθῆναι. Θὼρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσιν."

This last derivation could only have been given by some one acquainted with *Semitic* languages. To whom then can we attribute it with more probability than to Juba?

We have already in the course of our arguments pointed out the extreme probability that Juba carried his *Historia Romana* down to his own times. And HULLEMAN expresses himself perfectly convinced that such was the fact.

„Utut est, says he (p. 15), . . . orsus ab imperii Romani primordiis ultimis usque ad suam aetatem Juba Romanorum historiam pertexuit, ut *patet* e loco de ipsius socru Cleopatra pecuniam multam in splendida vasa insumente" [1]).

We must however acknowledge that the only argument he offers is exceedingly weak. But perhaps the following considerations may be found to add some weight to his hypothesis.

Supposing that Juba, who when a youth took part in the battle of Actium, wrote the history of the war between Octavian and Cleopatra and its consequences, the special connection of the author with these two persons must necessarily have exercized an influence on the character of his narrative.

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[1]) See Athen. VI p. 229 C. = fr. 20 Müller.

Juba could of course, from his position, more readily than anyone else procure accurate information concerning this period and acquaint himself of all that had occurred even to the smallest details. And though no one felt more sympathy for Augustus and the Roman people than he, the son-in-law of Cleopatra could not possibly judge her with the partiality, bitterness and irreconciliable hatred shown by her Roman contemporaries.

If now a later writer, who attached great importance to his authority, employed Juba's work while treating of Antony and Cleopatra, the part of his narrative relating to them will probably exhibit two peculiarities distinguishing it from those borrowed either directly or indirectly from *Roman* sources: namely great accuracy and circumstantiality and a certain mildness of judgment with regard to Cleopatra.

Our authorities for the war between Octavian and Antony and its results are only *two* in number: *Dio Cassius* (L and LI) and *Plutarch* (Vit. Ant.; more especially cc. 52—87). Between the statements and opinions of these writers exists so great a difference that they cannot possibly have borrowed their information from the same source.

Dio Cassius' principal authority was in all probability *Livy*. Dio, in the preceding as well as in the following books, relates the *prodigia*, to which he attaches so much importance, in the same form and order as *Julius Obsequens;* and that the latter has contented himself with making excerpts from Livy appears clearly enough

by comparing him both with Livy himself and with Florus and his other epitomists [1]).

To Plutarch's Life of *Antony*, especially to that part of it which relates to Egypt and Cleopatra, historical critics agree in attributing the highest value: „Vitam M. Antonii, says Heeren (p. 176), praestantissimis esse adnumerandam, quas Plutarcho debemus, omnes concedent qui eam legerint. Contenta sunt in ea multa, quae nisi a Plutarcho memoriae servata essent, post interitum scriptorum plane ignoraremus vel saltem exiguam tantum ac imperfectam eorum notitiam haberemus. *Omnem enim rerum Aegyptiacarum sub Cleopatra statum ..... ultima denique Cleopatrae fata* cum Ptolemaeorum familiae interitu

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[1]) See WILMANS, De D. C. fontibus et auctoritate p. 14 seqq.

On one occasion Obsequens, when referring to certain *prodigia*, introduces some reflections of Livy, which could just as well have been omitted as far as the plan of his work is concerned. *In this case too Dio and Obsequens almost entirely agree.*

Compare D. Cass. XLVI c. 49 with Obs. c. 130 m.

.... „ἐπειδή τε ὁ Τίτιος οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐβεβαιώθη τὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τετηρημένον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου συνάρχοντά τινα καταλύσας ἀπενιαύτισεν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Βροῦτος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κολλατίνου καταπαύσει ἀπέθανε, τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Γράκχος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου καταλύσει ἀπεσφάγη· ὅ τε Κίννας, ὁ τόν τε Μάρυλλον καὶ τὸν Φλάβιον ἀπαλλάξας, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεφθάρη".

„P. Titius praetor propter dissensiones collegae magistratum abrogavit et ante annum est mortuus. *Constat neminem, qui magistratum collegae abstulerat, annum vixisse.* Abrogaverunt autem hi: L. Iunius Brutus consul Tarquinio Collatino, Tib. Gracchus M. Octavio" cet.

These passages give us a clear idea of the manner, in which both Obsequens and Dio availed themselves of Livy.

quis *tam dilucide*, quis *tam copiose* narravit quam Plutarchus in Antonio"?

Heeren (p. 178) considers the Commentaries of Augustus to be Plutarch's principal authority for this Life:

„Ex his itaque inde a capite fere 16 usque ad finem (si ea exceperis quorum fontes indicabimus) [1]), expressa tantum non omnia quilibet facile concedet."

The judgment of Hermann Peter (p. 146) is much less decisive. After having treated of the passage in c. 68 concerning the battle of Actium, where *Augustus* is quoted („*καὶ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσιαι νῆες, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε Καῖσαρ*"), and after having pointed out that Livy — as appears from *Orosius* (VI c. 19) — must have represented the number of slain as much higher, he terminates his remarks on this Life as follows:

„Im ganzen ist die Darstellung durchaus parteiisch für Octavian [2]) und *dass sie auf eine aus der Feder eines Parteigängers des Octavian geflossene Quelle zurückgeführt werden muss unterliegt keinem Zweifel* .... und so viel auch sonst für Octavian, der ja sein Leben ausführlich in 13 Büchern beschrieben hatte, sprechen würde, *so sind wir doch wiederum anderseits auf mehrere Stellen*

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[1]) c. 28, taken from what was related by the physician *Philotas* to Plutarch's grand-father.

cc. 37—52, description of the campaign against the Parthians, borrowed, according to Heeren, from *Dellius*, the friend of Antony (see Strab. XI p. 523).

c. 82, where *Olympus* is named, physician in ordinary to Cleopatra.

[2]) See especially cc. 54—59.

gestossen an dessen eine unmittelbare Benutzung desselben entschieden in Frage gestellt werden musste, so dass auch hier die Sache wenigstens zweifelhaft ist".

In fact we do not see what can be objected against the supposition — and it even appears *a priori* very probable — that Plutarch's acquaintance with the Commentaries of Augustus was obtained at second hand. The quotation in c. 68 at least can scarcely be brought forward as a proof of the contrary; for by comparing Plutarch and Appianus it appears how many of the quotations in Plutarch's Lives from Caesar, Pollio, Augustus etc. were already found *as such* in the authorities, which he followed (see p. 68).

It may seem superfluous, after all that SINTENIS and other scholars have pointed out in their commentaries on the subject, to enter once more into details to show that the events in Egypt in particular are treated of more at length and with greater accuracy in Plutarch's Life of Antony than in Dio Cassius, and that many passages in the latter would be quite unintelligible without the aid of Plutarch [1]). The entirely different manner however, in which Plutarch and Dio portray Cleopatra, cannot be brought too prominently under notice. No one has as yet to my knowledge sufficiently dwelt upon this point.

According to Dio (Livy) Cleopatra betrayed Antony, and her love for him was entirely feigned.

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[1]) Compare for instance what Dio (c. 7 in.) says about Cleopatra's fleet in the Arabian gulf, with Plut. c. 69.

Plutarch says indeed that Antony's connection with Cleopatra contributed to his ruin (c. 66), but he nowhere accuses her of treachery. Antony, he states, sometimes entertained suspicions that he was betrayed, but Cleopatra's love was perfectly sincere and her grief at his death unfeigned.

When, after their defeat at Actium, Antony and Cleopatra had both returned to Alexandria, they sent an embassy to Octavian. The embassadors, according to Dio (LI c. 6), were to treat for peace and were provided with the money necessary to bribe Octavian's friends and counsellors, whenever possible. „Κἀν τούτῳ, Dio states, καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, σκῆπτρόν τέ τι χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, τόν τε δίφρον τὸν βασιλικόν, κρύφα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν οἱ δι' αὐτῶν διδοῦσα, ἔπεμψεν· ἵν' ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθήρῃ ἀλλ' αὐτήν γε ἐλεήσῃ· ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβεν οἰωνὸν ποιούμενος" κ. τ. λ.

In Plutarch's detailed narrative no mention whatever is made of separate presents sent to Octavian by Cleopatra.

Augustus afterwards sent to Cleopatra a certain *Thyrsus* (D. Cass. c. 8 s. f.): „Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῇ ἐροῦντα καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει· εἴ πως ἐκ γε τούτου, οἷα ἀξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐρᾶσθαι, τόν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρήσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτὴν τά τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειεν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτω".

Plutarch too (c. 73) mentions the sending of Thyrsus,

but without at the same time directly accusing Cleopatra as Dio does: „Συνέπεμψε δὲ (ὁ K.) καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Θύρσον, οὐκ ἀνόητον ἄνθρωπον οὐδ' ἀπιθάνως ἂν ἀφ' ἡγεμόνος νέου διαλεχθέντα πρὸς γυναῖκα σοβαρὰν καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον ἐπὶ κάλλει Φρονοῦσαν. Οὗτος ἐντυγχάνων αὐτῇ μακρότερα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τιμώμενος διαφερόντως ὑπόνοιαν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ παρέσχε κ. τ. λ.

According to Dio (c. 9 s. f.) Cleopatra caused *Pelusium* to be treacherously surrendered to Octavian: „καὶ τούτων καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ λόγῳ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔλαβεν" κ. τ. λ.

Plutarch says (c. 74 in.): „ἁλόντος δὲ Πηλουσίου λόγος ἦν ἐνδοῦναι Σέλευκον οὐκ ἀκούσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας. Ἡ δ' ἐκείνου μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας Ἀντωνίῳ κτεῖναι παρεῖχεν" κ. τ. λ.

In the following chapter of Dio (c. 10) we find related how Antony on hearing of the fall of Pelusium advanced against Octavian from *Paraetonium* and was victorious in a cavalry skirmish, but afterwards suffered a defeat in his encounter with the infantry. His intention now was to go on board the fleet and risk a naval battle or at least assure himself a safe retreat to Spain. „Ἰδοῦσα δὲ τοῦτο ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τάς τε ναῦς αὐτομολῆσαι ἐποίησε καὶ αὐτὴ ἐς τὸ ἠρίον ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήδησε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένη καὶ προδιαφθεῖραι τρόπον τινὰ ἑαυτὴν βουλομένη· ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκεῖσε ἐσελθεῖν προκαλουμένη". Antony, though he could not prevent suspicions arising in his mind concerning the fide-

lity of Cleopatra, yet felt it quite impossible to believe that she was capable of betraying him: „οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐκείνην ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἠλέει".

Dio continues thus: .... „ὅπερ που ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκριβῶς εἰδυῖα ἤλπισεν ὅτι, ἂν πύθηται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸ μνημεῖον .... ἐσέδραμε καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἀπολωλυῖα ἔπεμψεν".

Plutarch says (c. 76): „ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τοῖς πεζοῖς (ὁ Α.) ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας προδεδόσθαι βοῶν οἷς δι' ἐκείνην ἐπολέμησεν. Ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εἰς τὸν τάφον κατέφυγε .... πρὸς δ' Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὅτι τέθνηκεν".

According to Dio (c. 11 in.), immediately after Antony had breathed his last, Cleopatra sent information of his death to Octavian, concerning whose treatment of her person she felt little anxiety:

„Ἐκείνη δ' ἐθάρσησε μέν πως τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίστευε μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἔνδον, ἵν', εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθείη, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρίηται".

Plutarch (c. 77 m.) gives quite another account: When Cleopatra saw that Antony was mortally wounded „περιερρήξατο τοὺς πέπλους ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ στέρνα τυπτομένη καὶ σπαράττουσα ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ αἵματος ἀναματτομένη δεσπότην ἐκάλει καὶ

ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπελέλησστο τῶν αὑτῆς κακῶν οἴκτῳ τῶν ἐκείνων." And it was not Cleopatra who informed Octavian of what had occurred. He (c. 78) had obtained tidings of Antony's suicide from a soldier of his guard and therefore sent *Proculejus* to the μνημεῖον in order, if possible, to capture Cleopatra alive. As soon as the queen saw Proculejus, she wished to put herself to death (c. 79): „μεταστραφεῖσα καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν Προκλήϊον ὥρμησε μὲν ἑαυτὴν πατάξαι· παρεζωσμένη γὰρ ἐτύγχανέ τι τῶν ληστρικῶν ξιφιδίων". Proculejus however took away her dagger.

The interview between Cleopatra and Octavian is described by Dio (c. 12) at great length and in a style that reminds us of Livy. Cleopatra had prepared herself for this interview with the greatest care, her object being *to captivate the affections of Octavian.*

„Οἰκόν τε οὖν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελῆ παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἠμελημένως πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου οἷ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον λαβοῦσα..... She invited Octavian to examine Caesar's correspondence with her: „ταῦτά τε ἅμ' ἔλεγε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίγνωσκεν.... τά τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο.... τοιαύτῃ τινι ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρῆτο, μελιχρὰ ἄττα καὶ προσβλέπουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα.... She felt no grief for

the death of Antony, and expressed a wish to die and be buried in the same grave with him only to work upon Augustus' feelings: „ἡ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἔλεγεν" (c. 13 in.).

Plutarch (c. 83) describes Cleopatra's conduct during Octavian's visit thus: „ἡ δ' ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν στιβάδι κατακειμένη ταπεινῶς· εἰσιόντι δ' αὐτῷ μονοχίτων ἀναπηδήσασα προσπίπτει, δεινῶς μὲν ἐξηγριωμένη κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον, ὑπότρομος δὲ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντετηκυῖα ταῖς ὄψεσιν. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ στέρνον αἰκίας καταφανῆ καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχειν βέλτιον". She makes no attempt to win the heart of Augustus and only tries in some degree to justify her own conduct: „ἥψατο μέν τινος δικαιολογίας, εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον Ἀντωνίου τὰ πεπραγμένα τρέπουσα".

As proofs of sincere grief at Antony's death witness the touching words, which according to Plutarch (c. 84) she pronounced over his grave.

We have now shown:

that in the opinion of the learned Plutarch's narrative about the actions and fate of Antony and Cleopatra is distinguished by its great fulness and accuracy;

that the Commentaries of Augustus served as a basis for at least a considerable portion of Plutarch's statements, but that we are led to question whether the latter was acquainted with that work at first hand;

that the portraiture of Cleopatra's actions and character differs much to her advantage from the ordinary Roman

representations, such as we find in *Dio* (*Livy*), while we cannot suppose that Plutarch would on his own account have altered the statements of his authorities;

that the „χαριέστατος βασιλεὺς Ἰόβας", named in the last chapter (c. 87), considering his connection with Augustus, was naturally inclined, having the assistance of the latter's Commentaries, to carry his History down to his own time;

and that Juba's narrative, and especially his judgment of Cleopatra, would be distinguished by the same peculiarities as that of Plutarch, by whom he was so much honoured and admired.

On combining these considerations it must be regarded as far from improbable that Plutarch's principal authority for the latter part of his Life of Antony *i. e.* from cc. 52—87 was king JUBA.

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Greek writers of roman history some reflections upon the authorities used by Plutarch and Appianus

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